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THE
FAITH OF ISLAM

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THE
FAITH OF ISLÁM

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THE FAITH OF ISLAM

BY THE

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUR'AN; ISLAM: ITS RISE AND
PROGRESS; THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF ISLAM
MUSLIM CONQUESTS IN SPAIN, SUFISM;
THE DRUSES; THE OTTOMAN TURKS

FOURTH EDITION

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P R E F A C E

TO THE FOURTH EDITION

THIS edition has been considerably enlarged and improved. The quotations from Ibn Khaldún are taken from M. De Slane's French translation (ed. Paris 1865) of the Prolegomena (Muqaddima) ; those from Baidáwí are from Fleischer's edition (Lipsiae 1848). Sir 'Abdu'r-Raḥím's valuable work, *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence* (Madras 1911) has been very useful. Ash-Sharastáni's *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal* (ed. Cureton, London 1842), Mirkhond's *Rauḍatu's-Safa* (ed. London 1898) ; the *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásir* (ed. Lucknow A.H. 1309) and the *Mishkátu'l-Maṣábiḥ* (ed. Madras A.H. 1174) have been freely used. The quotations from the Qur'án are from Rodwell's translation.

In the transliteration of Arabic names and terms, I have followed the rules of the Royal Asiatic Society, namely:—

th	for	ت	t	for	ط
ḥ	„	ح	z	„	ظ
kh	„	خ	„	„	ع
dh	„	ذ	gh	„	ع
ṣ	„	ص	q	„	ق
ḍ	„	ض	„	„	د

MADRAS,
February 1, 1920. }

E. S.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	xi

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISLÁM

The Qur'án—Its revelation—Miraculous nature— Arrangement of Qur'án—'Uthmán's recension— The Sunna—The authority of Sunna—Tradition— Bid'at or innovation—Shí'ah Traditions—Ijmá'— Ijtihád—Four Orthodox Imáms, Hanífa, Málik, Sháfi'í and Hanbal—Qiyás—Sterility of Islám— The theocratic system	1
Note to Chapter I—Ijtihád	60

CHAPTER II

EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ÁN AND THE TRADITIONS

Inspiration—Methods of revelation—The seven dialects —The various readings—Gradual revelation of the Qur'án—Work of a commentator—Words, sentences, and verses of the Qur'án—Deductions of arguments from the Qur'án—Divisions of the Qur'án— Abrogation—Eternal nature of the Qur'án—Ḥadīth or Tradition—Collections of Traditions—Classifi- cation of Traditions	67
---	----

CHAPTER III

THE SECTS OF ISLÁM

The Shí'ahs—The Imám and the Imámat—Núr-i- Muḥammadí—Ismá'ilians and Imámities—Differ- ence between Shí'ahs and Sunnis—The Sultán's claim to the <u>K</u> halífate—Śúfism—Persian poetry—
--

	PAGE
Darwishes—'Umar <u>Khayyám</u> —The Báb and the Bábís—Wahhábís—Their rise—Spread in India—Doctrines and Influence—The Qádiánis . . .	125

CHAPTER IV

THE CREED OF ISLÁM

Imán—God—Attributes of God—Discussions on the nature of God—The rise of the Mu'tazilís—The Şifátíans—Mushábihites—Names of God—Creation of the Qur'án—Modern Mu'tazilís—Angels—Recording angels—Hárút and Márút—Munkar and Nakír—Jinn—Books—Abrogation—Tahríf—The Prophets—Rank and inspiration of prophets—Nabí and Rasúl—Sinlessness of prophets—The Anbiyá'—Ulú'l-'Azm—Miracles of prophets—The Mi'ráj—The resurrection and the last day—The trumpets—Descent of the books—Balances—Bridge—al-A'raf—al-Barzakh—Intercession of Muḥammad—Heaven—Hell—The Predestination of good and evil—Jabaríans—Qadaríans—Ash'aríans—Free-will—Apostasy	227
Note to Chapter IV—Muslim Philosophy	344

CHAPTER V

THE PRACTICAL DUTIES OF ISLÁM

Farḍ, wájib, sunna, mustahab, and mubáḥ actions—Harám or unlawful acts—Tashahhud—Şalát—Waḍú'— <u>Ghusl</u> —Tayammum—Namáz—Farḍ, mustahabb, sunna, witr, and nafl rak'ats—Appointed hours of prayer—Friday Namáz and <u>Khuṭba</u> —Namáz on a journey and in time of war—Namáz in Ramaḍán and during an eclipse and in time of drought—Funeral service—Its ritual and prayers
--

PAGE

—Fasting—Its time and nature—Zakát—Nişáb— Proportion of property given as alms—Recipients of the Zakát—The Hajj—Farḍ, sunna, wájib, and mustahabb duties connected with the Hajj—Time for the Hajj—Arrival of the Hájí at Mecca— Ṭawáf—Ceremonies of the Hajj—Conclusion of the Hajj—Formal nature of Islám	355
Note to Chapter V—Fatwá on the Namáz	413

CHAPTER VI

THE FEASTS AND FASTS OF ISLÁM

Muḥarram—‘Āshūr <u>Khána</u> —Marthiyah—Wáqí‘a <u>Khán</u> —‘Alams—Ceremonies of the ‘Āshúrá—Fātiḥas for ‘Alí, for Ḥasan and Ḥusain—Akhir-i-chár Shamba —Bará Wafát—Jashn-i-milád-i-Sharíf—Ātháru‘sh- Sharíf—Laylatu‘l-Barát—Ramaḍán and ‘Īdu‘l-Fiṭr —‘Itikáf—Ṣadaqa—Sermon on the ‘Īdu‘l-Fiṭr— Baqr-‘id or Īdu‘ḍ-Ḍuḥá—Sermon on the ‘Īdu‘ḍ- Ḍuḥá—The Qurbán or sacrifice	418
APPENDIX A—The authenticity of the Traditions	442
APPENDIX B—The Law of Jihád	448
INDEX	457
LIST OF VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR’ÁN	461

INTRODUCTION

IT is necessary to enter into some explanation as regards the contents of this work. It does not fall in with its plan to enter into an account either of the life of Muḥammad or of the wide and rapid spread of the system founded by him.¹ The most important study is that of the religious system which has grown out of the Prophet's teaching, and of its effect upon the individual and the community. What the Church in her missionary enterprise has to deal with, what European Governments in the political world have to do with, is Islām as it is, and as it now influences those who rule and those who are ruled under it. I have tried, therefore, to show, from authentic sources and from a practical knowledge of it, what the Faith of Islām really is, and how it influences men and nations in the present day.

Much that is written on Islām is written either in ignorant prejudice or from an ideal standpoint. To understand it aright one should know its literature and live amongst its people. I have tried faithfully to prove every statement I have made; and when I have quoted European authors it is only by way of illustration. I rest my case entirely upon Musalmán authorities themselves. Still more, I have ascertained from living witnesses that the principles I have tried to show as existing in Islām are really at work now, and are as potent as at any previous period.

¹ I have dealt with these subjects in my *Life of Muḥammad; The Historical Development of the Qur'an; Islām: Its Rise and Progress; The Four Rightly-guided Khalifas; The Umayyad and 'Abbāsid Khalifates; The Muslim Conquests in Northern Africa; The Muslim Conquests in Spain; The Mamlūks in Egypt* and *The Ottomán Turks*.

I have thus traced up from the very foundations the rise and development of the system, seeking wherever possible to link the past with the present. In order not to interfere with this unity of plan, I have had to leave many subjects untouched, such as those connected with the civil law, with polygamy, concubinage, slavery, and divorce. A good digest of Muḥammadan Law will give all necessary information on these points.¹ The basis of the Law which determines these questions is what I have described in my first chapter.

When I have drawn any conclusion from data which Muḥammadan literature and the present practice of Muslims have afforded me, I have striven to give what seems to me a just and right one. Still, I gladly take this opportunity of stating that I have found many Muslims better than their creed, men with whom it is a pleasure to associate, and whom I respect for many virtues and esteem as friends. I judge the system, not any individual in it.

¹ A very good account is given of these subjects in the *Religion of Islam*, by Klein pp. 178-226.

THE FAITH OF ISLÁM

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISLÁM

THE creed of Islám—‘*Lá iláha illa'lláhu : Muḥam-madu'r-Rasúlu'lláh*’—There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God is very short, but the system itself is a very dogmatic one. Such statements as : ‘The Qur’án is an all-embracing and sufficient code, regulating everything,’ ‘The Qur’án contains the entire code of Islám—that is, it is not a book of religious precepts merely, but it governs all that a Muslim does,’ ‘The Qur’án contains the whole religion of Muḥammad,’ ‘The Qur’án which contains the whole Gospel of Islám,’ are not simply misleading, they are erroneous. So far from the Qur’án alone being the sole rule of faith and practice to Muslims, there is not one single sect amongst them whose faith and practice is based on it alone. No Musalmán ever disputes its authority or casts any doubt upon its genuineness. Its voice is supreme in all that it concerns, but its exegesis, the whole system of legal jurisprudence and of theological science, is largely founded on the Traditions. Amongst the orthodox Musalmáns, the foundations of Islám are considered to be four in number, the Qur’án, Sunna, Ijmá’, and Qiyás. The fact that all the sects do not agree with the orthodox—the Sunnís—in this matter illustrates

another important fact in Islám, namely, the want of unity amongst its followers.

1. THE QUR'ÁN.—The question of the inspiration will be fully discussed, and an account of the laws of the exegesis of the Qur'án will be given in the next chapter. It is sufficient now to state that this book is held in the highest veneration by Muslims of every sect. When being read, it is kept on a stand elevated above the floor, and no one must read or touch it without first making a legal ablution. 'Let none touch it but the purified' (lvi. 78). It is not translated unless there is the most urgent necessity, and even then the Arabic text is printed with the translation. The more bigoted Muḥammadans say that it should not be taught to any one but Muslims, and that a Maulaví who teaches a Christian to read it becomes thereby a Káfir. In the year 1884 the Sunnī Qáđi and a number of Madras Maulavís issued a fatvá to this effect. This, however, is contrary to the Law, for Qáđi Khán says : 'The Ḥarbí, or the Dhimmí, when they desire to read the Qur'án, may be taught, and so also with the fiqh and the aḥkáms. It may be hoped that they will find the road to the truth. But until they have washed, they must not touch the Qur'án ; after they have done this, they are not to be hindered.'¹ It is said that God chose the sacred month of Ramaḍán in which to give all the revelations that in the form of books have been vouchsafed to mankind. Thus on the first night of that month the books of Abraham came down from heaven ; on

¹ *Fatáva-i-Qáđi Khán*, chapter on Qirá'átu'l-Qur'án.

the sixth, the books of Moses ; on the thirteenth, the Injíl, or Gospel; and on the twenty-seventh, the Qur'án.¹ On that night, the Laylatu'l-Qadr, or 'night of power,' the whole Qur'án is said to have descended to the lowest of the seven heavens, from whence it was brought piecemeal to Muḥammad as occasion required.² 'Verily we have caused it (the Qur'án) to descend on the night of power' (xcvii. 1.) 'The Qur'án,' says Ibn Khaldún, 'was sent from heaven in the Arab tongue, and in a style conformable to that in which the Arabs were wont to express their thoughts. . . . It was revealed phrase by phrase, verse by verse, as it was needed, whether for manifesting the doctrine of the unity of God, or for expounding the obligations to which men ought to submit in this world. In the one case we have the proclamation of the dogmas of faith, in the other the prescriptions which regulate the actions of men.'³ The night on which it descended is called the

¹ The Prophet said : 'Certainly Laylatu'l-Qadr was revealed to me, but I have forgotten (its date), but search for it in the last ten days and on one of the odd days.' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*.

² 'It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Qur'án at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would have done ; for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve ; but as he pretended to receive it by parcels, as God saw proper that they should be published for the conversion and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur.' Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, Section III.

³ *Les Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldún*, (de Slane's translation, ed. Paris, 1863), ii. 458. As I shall often refer to Ibn Khaldún, it may be well to state what Stanley Lane-Poole says of him as an authority : 'He stands at the head of the Arab historians, and comes nearest to European notions of a philosophical historian.' Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 332:

blessed night, the night better than a thousand months, the night when angels came down by the permission of their Lord, the night which bringeth peace and blessings till the rosy dawn. Twice on that night, in the solitude of the cave of Hirá, the voice called ; twice, though pressed sore 'as if a fearful weight had been laid upon him,' the Prophet struggled against its influence. The third time he heard the words :—

Recite thou, in the name of thy Lord who created—
Created man from clots of blood. (xcvi. 1.)¹

'When the voice had ceased to speak, telling how from minutest beginnings man had been called into existence, and lifted up by understanding and knowledge of the Lord, who is most beneficent, and who by the pen had revealed that which man did not know, Muḥammad woke up from his trance and felt as if "a book had been written in his heart."' He was much alarmed. Tradition records that he went hastily to his wife and said, 'O Khadíja ! What has happened to me ?' He lay down and she watched by him. When he recovered from his paroxysm, he said, 'O Khadija ! he of whom one would not have believed (i.e. himself) has now become either a soothsayer (káhin) or mad.' She replied, 'God is my protection, O Abú'l-Qásim.

¹ It is said by some that the words, 'warn thy relatives of nearer kin' (xxvi. 214) contain the first call to preach ; but the objections to this are that the context, 'kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee' (215), and the words, 'Who seeth thee when thou standest in prayer and thy demeanour among those who worship' (218-9) pre-suppose the existence of a small Muslim community; that the style of this Súra is not that of the earliest period, and that combinations found in it, such as al-'Azízu'r-Raḥím—the Mighty, the Merciful ; ash-Shamí'u'l-'Alimu.—He heareth, He knoweth, are not found in the earlier Súras.

He will surely not let such a thing happen unto thee, for thou speakest the truth, dost not return evil for evil, keepest faith, art of a good life, and art kind to thy relatives and friends, and neither art thou a talker abroad in the bazaars. What has befallen thee? Hast thou seen aught terrible?' Muḥammad replied, 'Yes.' And he told her what he had seen. Whereupon she answered and said, 'Rejoice, O dear husband, and be of good cheer. He in whose hands stands Khadija's life is my witness that thou wilt be the Prophet of this people.'¹ After this there seems to have been an intermission, called the fatra. It is generally acknowledged to have lasted about three years, and it was at this time that the Prophet gained some knowledge of the Jewish and the Christian histories. 'The accounts, however,' says Muir, 'are throughout confused, if not contradictory; and we can only gather with certainty that there was a time during which his mind hung in suspense and doubted the divine mission.'² It is not absolutely certain when the fatra commenced. Most commentators acknowledge that the first five verses of the Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi) form the first revelation; but according to 'Alí, the Súratu'l-Fátiḥa is the first, and Jábir, a Companion, maintains that the Súratu'l-Muddaththir (lxxiv) preceded all others.³ These varying statements are

¹ *Literary Remains of Emmanuel Deutsch*, p. 77.

² Muir, *The Life of Mahomet*, ii, 86.

³ This is the opinion of Nöldeke, who considers that the internal evidence supports it, especially the command to preach and be pious. This Súra, however, seems to be composite. The words 'a trump on the trumpet' are words not used in late Súras, whereas vv. 31-4 are evidently Madína ones as they are directed against the Jews. Muir places this Súra in the second period of Meccan ones, but this is very doubtful.

thus reconciled : the Súratu'l-'Alaq was the first real revelation ; the Súratu'l-Fátiḥa was the first one revealed for purposes of worship ; the Súratu'l-Muddaththir was the first of a continued series. Henceforth there was no intermission.¹ It is said that after the descent of the Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi), called also the Súratu'l-Iqra, the Prophet longed for a further revelation, but the waḥí (inspiration) came not. This fatra was a cause of much grief to him. Indeed one day he started from his home with the intention of committing suicide ; but when staggering along, borne down with sorrow, a voice from heaven sounded in his ears. Then, as Bukhárí relates it, he looked up and saw the angel who had appeared to him on a former occasion. The angel sat on a throne suspended midway between heaven and earth. Muḥammad, much agitated, hastened home and said, 'Cover me with a cloth.'² Then God revealed to him the Súratu'l-Muddaththir (lxxiv), which commences thus : 'O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle ! arise and warn.'³ Bukhárí also adds that the steady and regular flow of the revelation of the Qur'án then commenced, or, as he puts it, 'inspiration became warm' (Faḥamiya al-waḥí).⁴

Gabriel is believed to have been the medium of communication. This fact, however, is only once

¹ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī* (ed. Leyde, 1862).

² *The Mishkátu'l-Maṣḍib*, p. 846 gives a Tradition in a slightly different form, and says that Khadíja not only wrapped him up, but poured cold water on him, from which it would seem that she thought that a fit was coming on him.

³ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, i. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 6.

stated in the Qur'án : ' Say, whoso is the enemy of Gabriel—For he it is who by God's leave hath caused the Qur'án to descend on thy heart ' (ii. 91). This Súra was revealed some years after the Prophet's flight to Madína. The other references to the revelation of the Qur'án are : ' Verily from the Lord of the worlds hath this book come down ; the Faithful Spirit (Rúḥu'l-Ámín) hath come down with it ' (xxvi. 193). ' The Qur'án is no other than a revelation revealed to him, one terrible in power (Shadídu'l-Qawá) taught it him ' (liii. 5). ' The Holy Spirit (Rúḥu'l-Quds) hath brought it down with truth from the Lord ' (xvi. 104). These latter passages do not state clearly that Gabriel was the medium of communication, but the belief that he was is almost, if not entirely, universal,¹ and the commentators² say that the terms ' Rúḥu'l-Ámín,' ' Shadídu'l-Qawá,' and ' Rúḥu'l-Quds,' refer to no other angel or spirit. The use of the word ' taught ' in the quotation from Súra liii, and the following expression in Súra lxxv. 18 :

¹ Bukhárí states on the authority of 'Áyisha, that Khadíja, after the Prophet had received the command to ' recite,' took him to Waraqa bin Naufal. He was a man, so says Bukhárí, who had been a Nazarene in the days of ignorance. Now he was old and blind. Khadíja said : ' O cousin, listen to thy nephew (Muḥammad) and hear what he is saying.' Waraqa replied, ' O my brother's son, what hast thou seen ? ' Then Muḥammad told him what had happened. Waraqa then said, ' This is the Námús which God sent down upon Moses.' The commentators on the Traditions say that this Námús, which means the possessor of a secret, is ' none other than Gabriel.' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhárí* on Súra xcvi. iii. 381-2.

² The principal commentators are Muḥammad Fakhrud-din Rázi (A.H. 606) az-Zamakhshari (A.H. 604) al-Bagháwi (A.H. 505) al-Baiḍáwī (A.H. 685) Jalálu'd-din (A.H. 864) these are in Arabic. The *Tafsír-i-Husaini* is an excellent commentary in Persian. The *Khaldāṣatu't-Tafsír* is a large collection of opinions from many sources. It is published in Urdu.

‘When we have recited it, then follow thou the recital,’ show that the Qur’án is entirely an objective revelation, and that Muḥammad was only a passive medium of communication. The Muhammadan historian, Ibn Khaldún, says on this point : ‘Of all the divine books, the Qur’án is the only one of which the text, words and phrases have been communicated to a prophet by an audible voice. It is otherwise with the Pentateuch, the Gospel and the other divine books : the prophets received them under the form of ideas.’¹ This expresses the universal belief on this point—a belief which reveals the essentially mechanical nature of Islám.

The Qur’án thus revealed is now looked upon as the standing miracle of Islám. Other divine books, it is admitted, were revelations received under the form of ideas, but the Qur’án is far superior to them all, for the actual text was revealed to the ear of the Prophet. Thus we read:—

Move not thy tongue in the haste ² to follow and master this revelation,

For We will see to the collecting and recital of it ;

But when We have recited it, then follow thou the recital ;

And verily it shall be Ours to make it clear to thee.

(lxxv. 16-19).

The Qur’án is, then, believed to be a miraculous revelation ³ of divine eloquence, as regards both

¹ Ibn Khaldún, i. 195.

² This seems to imply that ‘he spoke automatically—like an automatic writer—out of trance’ (Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life of Islám*, p. 47). Ibn ‘Abbás says that Gabriel told him not to hurry from fear of not remembering or comprehending it. *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, ii. 438. Evidently he was much agitated. See Rodwell’s note on this verse.

³ Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 38 ; and Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 146 ; *Takmilu’l-Imán*, pp. 14, 21.

form and substance, arrangement of words, and its revelation of sacred things. It is asserted that each well-accredited prophet performed miracles in that particular department of human skill or science most flourishing in his age. Thus in the days of Moses magic exercised a wide influence, but all the magicians of Pharaoh's court had to submit to the superior skill of the Hebrew prophet. In the days of Jesus the science of medicine flourished. Men possessed great skill in the art of healing ; but no physician could equal the skill of Jesus, who not only healed the sick, but raised the dead. In the days of Muḥammad the special and most striking feature of the age was the wonderful power of the Arabs in the art of poetry.¹ Muḥammadu'd-Dámiri says : 'Wisdom hath alighted on three things—the brain of the Franks, the hands of the Chinese, and the tongue of the Arabs.' They were unrivalled for their eloquence, for the skill with which they arranged their material and gave expression to their thoughts. It is in this very particular that superior excellence is claimed for the Qur'án. It is to the Muḥammadan mind a sure evidence of its miraculous origin that it should excel in this respect. Muslims say that miracles have followed the revelations given to other prophets in order to confirm the divine message. In this case the Qur'án is both a revelation and a miracle. According to Ibn Khaldún Muḥammad himself said : 'Each prophet has received manifest signs which carried conviction to men, but that which I have received is

¹ *Takmilu'l-Imán* (Madras ed. A.H. 1288) p. 60.

the revelation. So I hope to have a larger following on the day of resurrection than any other prophet has.' Ibn Khaldún says that 'by this the Prophet means that such a wonderful miracle as the Qur'án, which is also a revelation, should carry conviction to a very large number.'¹ To a Muslim the fact is quite clear, and so to him the Qur'án is far superior to all the preceding books. It is 'the cream and compendium of all the heavenly books.'² Muḥammad is said to have convinced a rival, Lebid, a poet-laureate, of the truth of his mission by reciting to him a portion of the now second Súra.³ It is true that many parts of it are very grand, but it is not in these that the strength of the Qur'án lies. Before his time Arab poets had sung of valour and generosity of love and revenge. Muḥammad's diction did not excel theirs in beauty ; but his aim was different. He was a man with a message, often fierce and always strong. He preached Islám. The very fierceness with which this is done, the swearing⁴ such as Arab orator, proficient though he may have been in the art, had never made, the dogmatic certainty with which the Prophet proclaimed his message, have tended, equally with the passionate

¹ Ibn Khaldún, i. 194.

² *Takmilu'l-Imán*, p. 14.

³ There is some difference of opinion as to the exact nature of the superiority of the Qur'án. 'Some hold the proof to lie simply in the eloquence ; others, in the revelation of the Unseen ; others, in the absence of discrepancies. Others again, disagreeing as to the perfect eloquence of the revelation, hold to the doctrine of 'prevention,' or inability to produce the like, owing to divine intervention.' Muir, *Beacon of Truth*, p. 26.

⁴ Súras xxxviii. 1 ; xlv. 1 ; li. 1 ; lxxiii. 1 ; lxix. 39. 'He swears by the most varied things, by whatever comes uppermost in his mind, and so the oaths often appear strange and incongruous.' Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qurans* (ed. Göttingen, 1861) p. 61.

grandeur of his utterances, to hold the Muslim world spell-bound to the letter and imbued with all the narrowness of the book.

So sacred is the text supposed to be, that only the Companions¹ of the Prophet are deemed worthy of being commentators on it. The work of learned divines since then has been to learn the Qur'án by heart and to master the Traditions, with the writings of the earliest commentators thereon. The revelation itself is never made a subject of investigation or tried by the ordinary rules of criticism. If only the isnád, or chain of authorities for any interpretation, is good, that interpretation is unhesitatingly accepted as the correct one. It is a fundamental article of belief that no other book in the world can possibly approach near to it in thought or expression.² It deals with positive precepts rather than with principles.³ Its decrees are held to be binding not in the spirit merely, but in the very letter on all men, at all times, and under every circumstance of life. This follows as a natural consequence from the belief in its eternal nature.

¹ Those who were in constant intercourse with the Prophet are called Aṣḥāb (Companions); their disciples are named Tábi'ún (Followers); their disciples are known as Taba'u't-Tábi'in (Followers of the Followers). One of the most famous of the Companions was Ibn 'Abbás who is called by Syúṭí the 'Father of the exegesis of the Qur'án.'

² The Mu'tazilis hold that, if God allowed it, men could produce a Súra like it in eloquence and arrangement. Shahrastáni, *al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, p. 39. See also Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qoráns*, p. 44.

³ 'In the Koran there had been given to Muslims a religion, but no system—precepts but no doctrines. What is contrary to logic therein—what we account for by the shifting circumstances of the Prophet's life, and his varying moods—was simply accepted by the believers, without asking questions about the How and Why.' De Boer, *Philosophy in Islám*, p. 41.

The various portions recited by the Prophet during the twenty-three years of his prophetical career were committed to writing by some of his followers, or treasured up in their memories. As the recital of the Qur'án formed a part of every act of public worship, and as such recital was an act of great religious merit, every Muslim tried to remember as much as he could. He who could do so best was entitled to the highest honour, and was often the recipient of a substantial reward.¹ The Arab love for poetry facilitated the exercise of this faculty. When the Prophet died the revelation ceased. There was no distinct copy of the whole, nothing to show what was of transitory importance, what of permanent value. There is nothing which proves that the Prophet took any special care of any portions. There seems to have been no definite order in which, when the book was compiled, the various Súrās were arranged, for the Qur'án, as it now exists, is utterly devoid of all historical or logical sequence. For a year after the Prophet's death nothing seems to have been done ; but then the battle of Yemana took place, in which a very large number of the best Qur'án reciters were slain. 'Umar took fright at this, and addressing the Khalífa Abú Bakr, said, 'The slaughter may again wax hot amongst the repeaters of the Qur'án in other fields of battle, and much may be lost therefrom. Now, therefore, my advice is that thou shouldest give speedy orders for

¹ ' Thus, after the usual distribution of the spoils taken on the field of Cadesia (A.H. 14), the residue was divided among those who knew most of the Qur'án.' Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, i. 5.

the collection of the Qur'án.'¹ Abú Bakr agreed, and said to Zaid ibn Thábit, who had been an amanuensis of the Prophet, 'Thou art a young man, and wise, against whom no one amongst us can cast an imputation; and thou wert wont to write down the inspired revelations of the Prophet of the Lord, wherefore now search out the Qur'án and bring it all together.' Zaid being at length pressed to undertake the task, proceeded to gather the Qur'án together from 'date leaves and tablets of white stone, and from the hearts of men.' In course of time it was all compiled in the order in which the book is now arranged. This was the authorized text for some twenty-three years after the death of Muḥammad. Owing, however, either to different modes of recitation, or to differences of expression in the sources from which Zaid's first recension was made, a variety of different readings crept into the copies in use. Hudhaifa bin al-Yaman, one of the early warriors, observing the difference between the readings of the Muslim Syrians and the men of 'Iráq, became alarmed and warned the Khalífa to interpose, 'before they should differ (regarding their scriptures) as did the Jews and the Christians.' The Faithful became alarmed, and the Khalífa 'Uthmán was persuaded to put a stop to such a danger. He appointed Zaid, with three of the leading men of the Quraish as assistants, to go over the whole work again. A careful recension was made of the whole book, which was then assimilated to the Meccan dialect, the purest in Arabia.² After

¹ See as-Syúfí, *History of the Khalífs* (ed. Calcutta, 1881) p. 78.

² For a full account, see Sell, *Rescensions of the Qur'án* (C.L.S., Madras and London).

this all other copies of the Qur'án were burnt by order of the Khalífa, and new transcripts were made of the revised edition, which was now the only authorized copy. 'On the revision being completed, 'Uthmán caused all the remaining editions to be destroyed, and it is due to this fact that at the present day only one authoritative and uniform text is in use throughout the Muslim world.'¹ The authenticity of the present Qur'án rests upon the authority of Zaid, who often had to rely on the memories of the early Muslims. The memories of many between A.H. 15-30, the dates of the two recensions, varied and so the critical student may reasonably assume that the memories of men may have been defective. The destruction of all copies of the first recension was a clumsy method of avoiding criticism and a foolish action as it raises suspicion. As it is a fundamental tenet of Islám that the Qur'án is incorruptible and absolutely free from error, no little difficulty has been felt in explaining the need of 'Uthmán's new and revised edition, and of the circumstances under which it took place; but, as usual, a Tradition has been handed down which makes it lawful to read the Qur'án in seven dialects. On the authority of Ibn 'Abbás the following tradition is recorded : 'Gabriel taught me to read the Qur'án in one dialect, and when I recited it he taught me to recite it in another, and so on until the number of dialects amounted to seven.' These dialects, known as the Qirá'átu's-sab'at or, in Persian, Haft Qirá'át, were the seven chief ones of

¹ Sir 'Abdu'r-Rahím, *Muhammadian Jurisprudence*, p. 20.

Arabia. The members of these several tribes used to recite the Qur'án in their respective dialects until 'Uthmán's Qur'án was issued, when only one dialect was allowed.

The book in its present form may be accepted as a genuine reproduction of Abú Bakr's edition with authoritative corrections. It thus becomes a fundamental basis of Islám. It was a common practice of the early Muslims when speaking of the Prophet to say, 'His character is the Qur'án.' When people curious to know details of the life of their beloved master asked 'Áyisha, one of his widows, about him, she used to reply, 'Thou hast the Qur'án, art thou not an Arab and readest the Arab tongue? Why dost thou ask me? for the Prophet's disposition is no other than the Qur'án.'

Whether Muḥammad would have arranged the Qur'án as we now have it is a subject on which it is impossible to form an opinion. There are Traditions which seem to show that he had some doubts as to its completeness. I give the following account on the authority of M. Caussin de Percival. When Muḥammad felt his end draw near he said, 'Bring ink and paper: I wish to write to you a book to preserve you always from error.' But it was too late. He could not write or dictate, and so he said, 'May the Qur'án always be your guide. Perform what it commands you: avoid what it prohibits.'¹ The genuineness of the first part of this Tradition

¹ Another fairly well-authenticated account is that he asked for an inkstand in order that he might write something which would not be lost; but 'Umar objected, saying, 'We have the Qur'án of which we all approve.' Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 225-6.

is, I think, very doubtful ; the latter is quite in accordance with the Prophet's claim for his teaching. The letter of the book became, as Muḥammad intended it should become, a despotic influence in the Muslim world, a barrier to freethinking on the part of all the orthodox, an obstacle to innovation in all spheres—political, social, intellectual and moral. 'Unlike the Decemviral code which was compiled in a business-like way for the guidance of magistrates and litigants, and which made no pretence of finality, the Qur'án is a religious miscellany with some legislative matter embodied in it which would never have been put forward to do duty as a code, but for the belief, common to rulers and ruled, that every word and every syllable came direct from heaven, and which, having been put forward in that belief, *cannot be abrogated or altered in the smallest particular until a new messenger shall present himself with equally good credentials.*'¹

There are many topics connected with the Qur'án which can be better explained in the next chapter. All that has now to be here stated is that the Qur'án is the first foundation of Islám. It is an error to suppose it is the only one : an error which more than anything else has led persons away from the only position in which they could obtain a true idea of the great system of Islám. Stanley Lane-Poole well says : 'A large part of what Muslims now believe is not to be found in the Qur'án at all. We do not mean to say that the Traditions of Muḥammad are not as good authority as the Qur'án ; indeed, except that in the latter case, the Prophet

¹ Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muḥammadan Law*, p. 22.

professed to speak the words of God, and in the former he did not so profess, there is little to choose between them. Nor do we assert that the early doctors of the Law displayed no imaginative faculty in drawing their inferences and analogies, though we have our suspicions ; all we would insist on is that it is a mistake to call the Qur'án either the theological compendium or the corpus legis of Islám.' ¹

The Shi'ahs maintain, without good reason, that the following verses favourable to the claims of 'Alí and of the Shi'ah faction were omitted in 'Uthman's recension ² :—

O believers ! believe in the two Lights (Muḥammad and 'Alí).

'Alí is of the number of the pious ; We shall give him his right in the day of judgment ; We are not ignorant of the injustice done to him. We have honoured him above all this family. He and his family are very patient. Their enemy (Mu'áwiya) is the chief of sinners.

We have announced to thee a race of just men, men ³ who will not oppose our orders. My mercy and peace are on them, living ⁴ or dead.

¹ *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 167.

² There are other cases, such as these. 'Umar said : ' Some of you say, " I possess the whole Qur'án," but how can he know what is the whole Qur'án, since a part of it has disappeared. Let him rather say, " I possess of it what is still extant." ' 'Áyisha said that Súra xxxiii originally had two hundred verses, it now has only seventy-three. It used to contain the verse of the stoning : ' If the old man and the old woman commit adultery, stone them.' 'Umar believed that this was so and said: 'If I were not afraid that people would say:" 'Umar has added some thing to the Book of God, I should write it in the Qur'án." ' (Syúfí quoted in Klein's *Religion of Islám*, pp. 17-18.) The first penalty for an adulteress was confinement in her house (iv. 19). This was afterwards, both for the man and the woman, changed to a penalty of a hundred lashes (xxiv. 1). The following verse, known as the Áyatu'r-rajm (the Verse of Stoning) has now disappeared from the Qur'án. For the original authority for this statement, see *The Verse of Stoning* (C.L.S., Madras).

³ The twelve Imáms.

⁴ Al-Mahdí is supposed to be still alive.

As to those who walk in their way, my mercy is on them ; they will certainly gain the mansions of Paradise. ¹

The orthodox can reply to this claim by quoting a Tradition recorded by Bukhári : ' The Prophet left nothing but what is within the two covers (of the Qur'án).'

There is no evidence that Muḥammad had any practical acquaintance with the Old and New Testament Scriptures.² There is only one quotation in the Qur'án from the Old Testament, and that is a passage from Psalm xxxvii, 29, which is quoted in Súra xxi. 105 : ' Since the Law was given, we have written in the Psalms that " my servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth." ' There are a few apparent references to the New Testament, such as in the words, ' Nor shall they enter Paradise until the camel passeth through the eye of the needle ' (vii. 38) ; and in ' Jesus the Son of Mary, said : " O children of Israel ! of a truth I am God's

¹ These verses are taken from a chapter, Súratu'n-Núrain, the chapter of the two Lights, said to have been omitted from the Qur'án as it now exists. The full Súra is given in Arabic and in French in the *Journal Asiatique*, December, 1843 ; and in Arabic and in English in my *Rescensions of the Qur'án* (C.L.S., Madras). The question of the genuineness of the Súra is there discussed, pp. 24-5.

² Muḥammad is called in Súra vii. 156, the al-Nabí'l-Ummi, which Muḥammadans generally translate as the ' unlettered Prophet,' and say he could not read or write. This is used as an argument to show that he could not have composed so eloquent a book as the Qur'án, and that, therefore, it must be the words of God. But the term more probably means ' the Prophet of the Gentiles,' as distinguished from a prophet belonging to the ' people of the Book,' i.e. Jews or Christians, and is meant to show that he was not acquainted with the books of preceding prophets. His ignorance is shown by the confused order in which he places them. He seems to have felt his weakness in this respect, for God is represented as saying : ' Of some apostles We have told thee before : of other apostles We have not told thee.' Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 162.

Apostle to you to confirm the Law which was given before me, and to announce an Apostle that shall come after me, whose name shall be Aḥmad ” ’ (lxi. 6). This no doubt refers to St. John xvi. 7 : ‘ If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you ; but if I depart, I will send Him unto you.’ Muḥammad seems to have misunderstood the word *παράκλητος*, and imagined it to be the same as *περικλυτός*, which has somewhat the same meaning as Aḥmad, from which word the name Muḥammad is formed. The poetical parts of the Qur’án are the Prophet’s own creation ; for the rest he was indebted to the Jewish Traditions based on the Talmud. The Babylonian Gemara was finished about the year A.D. 530 ; the Jerusalem Gemara in A.D. 430, and the Mishna about A.D. 220. All of these, therefore, were available. Other portions of the Qur’án are derived from stories found in the Apocryphal Gospels, Christian legends, and Zoroastrian tales, to which latter reference seems to be made in—‘ The unbelievers say, “ Of old have we been promised this, we and our sires of old ; it is but tales of the Ancients ” ’ (xxvii. 70). Many also of Muḥammad’s friends were acquainted with the Bible, and some of them became Christians. There were also Jewish tribes in Arabia, with whom the Prophet came into contact, and with whom he was for a while friendly and from whom he learned much. Muḥammad, however, claimed to have received all such information direct from God. Thus, when describing the dispute amongst the angels concerning the creation of man, he said : ‘ Verily, it hath been revealed to me only because I

am a public preacher' (xxxviii. 70). The stories which he learned from the Jews he claimed to have received by inspiration and adduces this as a fact to prove the reality of his prophetic office. Apart from the general conception of the Unity of God and other dogmas which Islám has borrowed from Judaism,¹ many of the less important matters of belief are clearly taken from Talmudic sources, such as the story of the angels Hárút and Márút (ii. 96); the seven heavens and hells (xvii. 46, xv. 44); the position of the throne of God at the creation (xi. 9); al-A'ráf or the partition between heaven and hell (vii. 44). The following also may be traced to Zoroastrian sources: the Mi'ráj (xvii. 1); the Jinn or Genii (vi. 100); the Húrís, which are identical with the Parikas of the Avesta and the Peris of modern Persia, beings 'endowed with seductive beauty, dwelling in the air, and attaching themselves to the stars and light;' the angel of death and the bridge (Şirát). The teaching about the Núr-i-Muḥammadí and the teaching generally about evil spirits is derived from the same source.²

¹ Geiger in *Judaism and Islám*, pp. 31-44 (Simpkin, Marshall and Co., London: S.P.C.K., Madras), shows how much Muḥammad borrowed from Judaism. This accounts for the introduction of Rabbinical terms into the Qur'án. See also foot-note in *Islám: Its Rise and Progress*, p. 49 (C.L.S., London and Madras), and Hurgonje, *Mohammedanism* (London, 1916), pp. 61-2.

² This is all given in full detail in *The Sources of the Qur'án* by Dr. St. Clair Tisdall (S.P.C.K.). Syed Amir 'Alí also speaks of the 'eclectic faith of Muḥammad' and of the 'Zoroastrian origin of the Houris' and of the 'Talmudic ideas of hell.' (*Spirit of Islám*, pp. 387, 394). The idea that another person was substituted for Christ at the crucifixion (iv. 156) was borrowed from the Manichæans.

In fact, the early adversaries of the Prophet accused him of having confederates, and spoke of his revelations as a collection of fables and mere poetical utterances. Thus, 'The infidels say: "This Qur'án is a mere fraud of his own devising, and others have helped him with it. . . . Tales of the Ancients that he hath put in writing, and they were dictated to him morn and eve"' (xxv. 5, 6).¹ The Qur'án itself bears internal evidence of the great skill with which Muḥammad formed the eclectic system of Islám,² which has been well described as 'a corrupt form of late Judaism with which ideas and practices derived from Arabian and Persian heathenism, and in one or two instances from heretical books, have been mingled.'

2. THE SUNNA.³—The second foundation of Islám is based on the Ḥadīth (plural aḥādīth) or Tradition.⁴ Commands from God given in the Qur'án are called 'farḍ' and 'wájib.'⁵ A command given by the Prophet or an example set by

¹ Muḥammad rebuts the charge of being a mere poet in the Súratu'sh-Shu'ará (xxvi) 224 and in Súratu Yá Sín (xxvi) 69 and the imputation of forgery in Súras lii. 33-4, 41, 47; lxix. 38-47; lxxxi. 15-22; lvi. 74-8; xxv. 5-7, 22; xxxii. 2

² The way in which the Qur'án grew and how its gradual formation was determined by the events of the Prophet's life are shown in Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans*, and in my *Historical Development of the Qur'an* (S.P.C.K., London and Madras).

³ For an exhaustive account of this second foundation of Islám, see Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, Lecture iii.

⁴ The terms sunna and ḥadīth are sometimes treated as synonymous. They are not so, for sunna describes the mode of action, practice and the sayings of the Prophet · ḥadīth denotes the narration and record of such actions and sayings.

⁵ For a definition of these terms, see the first page of chapter v.

him is called 'sunna,' a word meaning a rule. It is then technically applied to the basis of religious faith and practice, which is founded on traditional accounts of the sayings and acts of Muḥammad.¹ It is the belief common to all Musalmáns, that the Prophet in all that he *did*, and in all that he *said*,² was supernaturally guided, and that his words and acts are for all time and to all his followers a divine rule of faith and practice. 'We should know that God Almighty has given commands and prohibitions to his servants, either by means of the Qur'án, or by the mouth of His Prophet.' Al-Ghazálí, a most distinguished theologian, writes : 'Neither is the faith according to His will complete by the testimony to the Unity alone, that is, by simply saying, "There is but one God," without the addition of the further testimony to the Apostle, that is, the statement, "Muḥammad is the apostle of God." ' This belief in the Prophet must extend to all that he has said concerning the present and the future life, for, says the same author, 'A man's faith is not accepted till he is fully persuaded of those things which the Prophet hath affirmed shall be after death.' In the *Miṣhkátu'l-Masábih* (Book i, chapter vi) the following Traditions on this point

¹ These are called (1) *Sunnatu'l-fi'l*, that which Muḥammad himself did. (2) *Sunnatu'l-qaul*, that which he said should be practised. (3) *Sunnatu't-taqrir*, that which was done in his presence and which he did not forbid.

² A difficulty sometimes arose when the maxims (sayings) of the Prophet differed from his acts. In such cases the sayings were preferred for guidance in legal procedure. See Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 81 for a good illustration of this.

are recorded : 'That which the Prophet of God hath made unlawful is like that which God Himself hath made so.' 'Verily the best word is the word of God, and the best rule of life is that delivered by Muḥammad.' 'I have left you two things, and you will not stray as long as you hold them fast. The one is the word of God, and the other the law (sunna) of His Prophet.' 'I am no more than a man, but when I order anything respecting religion, receive it, and when I order anything about the affairs of the world, then I am nothing more than a man.'

It is often said that the Wahnábís reject Tradition. In the ordinary sense of the word tradition they may ; but in Muslim theology the term Ḥadīth, which we translate Tradition, has a special meaning. It is applied only to the sayings of the Prophet, not to those of some uninspired divine or teacher. The Wahnábís reject the Traditions handed down by men who lived after the time of the Companions, but the Ḥadīth, embodying the sayings of the Prophet, they, in common with all Muslim sects, hold to be an inspired revelation of God's will to men. It would be as reasonable to say that Protestants reject the four Gospels as to say that the Wahnábís reject Tradition.¹ An orthodox Muslim places the Gospels in the same rank as

¹ The great Wahnábí preacher Muḥammad Ismá'íl, of whom some account will be given later on, says in the *Taqwīatu'l-Imān* : 'The best of all ways is to have for principles the words (holy writings) of God and of His Apostle ; to hold them alone as precedents, and not to allow our own opinion to be exercised.' Baiḍāwī (i. 183) explains 'that which God and His Apostle have forbidden' (ix. 29) as that which is forbidden in the Qur'ān and the Sunna.

the Ḥadīth, that is, he looks upon them as a record handed down to us by His Companions of what Jesus said and did. 'In the same way as other Prophets received their books under the form of ideas, so our Prophet has in the same way received a great number of communications which are found in the collections of the Traditions' (aḥādīth).¹ This shows that the Sunna must be placed on a level with the Jewish and Christian Scriptures ; whilst the Qur'án is a revelation superior to them all. To no sect of Musalmáns is the Qur'án alone the rule of faith. The Shí'ahs, it is true, reject the Sunna, but they have in their own collection of Traditions an exact equivalent.

The nature of the inspiration of the Sunna and its authoritative value are questions of the first importance, whether Islám is viewed from a theological or a political standpoint.

Muḥammad said that seventy-three sects would arise, of whom only one would be worthy of Paradise. The Companions inquired which sect would be so highly favoured. The Prophet replied, 'The one which remains firm in my way and in that of my friends. It is certain that this must refer to the Ahlu's-sunna wa'l-jamá'at.'²

It is laid down as a preliminary religious duty that obedience should be rendered to the Sunna of the Prophet. 'Thus 'Obey God and obey the Apostle' (vii. 20).³ 'We have not sent any apostle but

¹ Ibn Khaldún, i. 195.

² *Takmilu'l-Imán*, p. 16.

³ See also *Súras* lxiv. 8 ; viii. 13. 48 ; lxvii. 35 ; lviii. 7, 8 ; xxxiii. 22. *Historical Development of the Qur'an*, pp. 224-30.

that he might be obeyed by the permission of God.' Again, 'A noble pattern have ye in God's Apostle, for all who hope in God and the latter day' (xxxiii. 21). The *Tafsír-i-ibn 'Abbás* also explains 'noble pattern' as 'noble sunna' (sunnatan ḥasanatan). From these and similar passages the following doctrine is deduced : 'It is plain that the Prophet (on whom and on whose descendants be the mercy and peace of God) is free from sin in what he ordered to be done, and in what he prohibited, in all his words and acts ; for were it otherwise, how could obedience rendered to him be accounted as obedience paid to God ?' ¹ Believers are exhorted to render obedience to God by witnessing to His divinity, and to the Prophet by bearing witness to his prophethood ; this is a sign of love, and love is the cause of nearness to God. The Prophet himself is reported to have said : 'Obey me, that God may regard you as friends.' From this statement the conclusion is drawn that 'the love of God (to man) is conditional on obedience to the Prophet.' Belief in and obedience to the Prophet are essential elements of the true faith, and he who possesses not both of these is in error. ²

In order to show the necessity of this obedience, God is said to have appointed Muḥammad as the Mediator between Himself and man. In a lower sense, believers are to follow the Sunna of the

¹ *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, p. 285.

² 'The doctors of the Law are unanimously agreed as to the obligation of conforming one's actions to the precepts laid down in the Traditions attributed to the Prophet.' Ibn Khaldūn, ii 465.

four Khalífas, Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán and 'Alí, who are true guides to men.

To the Muslim all that the Prophet did was perfectly in accord with the will of God. Moral laws have a different application when applied to him. His jealousy, his severe treatment of the Jewish tribes,¹ his domestic life, his bold assertion of equality with God as regards his commands,² his every act and word are sinless and a guide to men as long as the world shall last. His actions cannot, therefore, be justified by comparison with the actions of other men. They belong to a different category. All apologies for Muḥammad based on the fact that other leaders, religious or secular, have done similar deeds are beside the question altogether. It is easy for an apologist for Muhammad to say that this view of the Sunna is an accretion, something which engrafted itself on to a simpler system. It is no such thing. It is rather one of the essential parts of the system. Let Muhammad be his own witness:

¹ 'O believers! take not the Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another's friends. If any of you taketh them for his friend, he is surely one of them. God will not guide the evil-doers' (v. 56). See also *Islám : Its Rise and Progress*, pp. 22-7.

² 'O true believers, obey God and His Apostle and turn not back from him' (viii. 20). The words 'from him' have given much trouble to the commentators. Do they refer to God or to the Apostle? The *Tafsír-i-Husaini* says: 'From jihád or from order of God, or the not turning away from the Prophet.' The *Tafsír-i-Ibn 'Abbas* says: 'From the order of God and of His apostle.' Baiḍáwí says: 'From the Prophet.' Other verses are 'Obey God and the Apostle. When God and His Apostle . . . have decreed a matter . . . whosoever disobeyeth God and His Apostle erreth with a palpable error. . . . Verily they who affront God and His Apostle, the curse of God is on them in this world and in the world to come' (xxxiii. 33, 36, 57).

‘He who loves not my Sunna is not my follower.’ ‘He who revives my Sunna revives me, and will be with me in Paradise.’ ‘He who in distress holds fast to the Sunna will receive the reward of a hundred martyrs.’ When asked who would be his successors, he replied, ‘Those who report my sayings (aḥádīth) and instruct men in the same.’ Thus the morality of Islám in the twentieth century is the morality of Arabia in the seventh. Muḥammad fulfilled the moral requirements of a perfect Arab : he is the ideal of the standard of ethics as he regulated it in his own day ; and as this national standard of ethics is supposed to be divine and authoritative, it has fixed for ever the standard for all Muslim lands ; but it is too limited. Muḥammad fails as the ideal embodiment of a ‘Son of Man,’ one common to all humanity. As might be expected, the setting up of his own acts and words as an infallible and unvarying rule of faith accounts more than anything else for the immobility of the Muḥammadan world, for it must be always remembered that in Islám Church and State are one. The Arab proverb, ‘*al-mulk wa’d-dín tawámán*’ (country and religion are twins),¹ is the popular form of expressing the unity of Church and State. To the mind of the Musalmán the rule of the one is the rule of the other—a truth sometimes forgotten by politicians who look hopefully on the reform of Turkey or the regeneration

¹ This is explained by the author of the *Anvár-i-Suhayli* to mean,

‘In reason’s code the Prophet and the King,
Are but two jewels in the self-same ring.’

of the House of 'Uthmán. The Sunna, as much as the Qur'án, covers all law, whether political, social, moral, or religious. A modern writer who has an intimate acquaintance with Islám says : ' If Islám is to be a power for good in the future, it is imperatively necessary to cut off the social system from the religion. The difficulty lies in the close connection between the religious and social ordinances in the Qur'án ; the two are so intermingled that it is hard to see how they can be disentangled without destroying both.'¹ I believe this to be impossible, and the case becomes still more hopeless when we remember that the same remark would apply to the Sunna. When the Khalífa 'Uthmán was in danger, he was advised by 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Umar not to give in to the rebels, but to refer them to the 'Book of Alláh and to the Sunna of the Prophet.' This shows how very early in Islám the Sunna was recognized as a co-ordinate authority.² To forget this is to go astray, for Ibn Khaldún distinctly speaks of 'the Law derived from the Qur'án and the Sunna,'³ of the 'maxims of Musalmán Law based on the text of the Qur'án and the teaching of the Traditions.'⁴ Al-Junaid, a famous theological teacher of the third century A.H., says :

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Selections from the Qur'án*, p. xcvi.

² Mirkhond, *Rauḍatu's-Ṣafa* (ed. London, 1893) Part II, iii. 175.

³ Ibn Khaldún, ii. 477.

⁴ In June A.D. 1877 Sultán Maḥmúd issued a manifesto protesting against interference in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, 'the affairs of which are conducted upon the principles of *sacred legislation*, and all the regulations of which are strictly connected with principles of religion.' These principles still remain in force, for the famous fatvá given by the Council of the 'Ulamá in July 1879, anent Khairu'd-din's proposed reforms, speaks of 'the unalterable principles of the Sheri,' or Law.

‘ Our system of doctrine is firmly bound up with the dogmas of faith and the Qur’án and the Sunna.’¹

The Prophet had a great dread of all innovation. The technical term for anything new is ‘bid‘at’, and of it is said, ‘Bid‘at is the changer of sunna.’² In other words, if men seek after things new—if fresh forms of thought arise, and the changing condition of society demands new modes of expression for the Faith, or new laws to regulate the community—if, in internals or externals, any new thing (bid‘at) is introduced, it is to be shunned. The law, as revealed in the Qur’án and the Sunna, is perfect. Everything not in accordance with the precepts therein contained is innovation, and all innovation is heresy. Meanwhile some ‘bid‘at’ is allowable, such as the teaching of etymology and syntax, the establishment of schools, guest-houses, etc., which things did not exist in the time of the Prophet ; but it is distinctly and clearly laid down that compliance with the least Sunna (i.e. the obeying the least of the orders of the Prophet, however trivial) is far better than doing some new thing, however advantageous and desirable it may be.

There are many stories which illustrate the importance the Companions of the Prophet attached to the Sunna. ‘The Khalífa ‘Umar looked towards

¹ Ibn Khallikán, *Biographical Dictionary* (de Slane’s translation, ed. Paris 1868), i. 338.

² The words ‘who have purchased error at the price of guidance’ (ii. 15) are interpreted as meaning ‘purchased bid‘at for sunna.’ (*Tafsíre-i-Husaini*, i. 5). For the co-ordinate nature of the Qur’án and the Sunna, see *Khalaṣātu’t-Tafásir*, i. 21.

the black stone at Mecca, and said, "By God, I know that thou art only a stone, and canst grant no benefit, canst do no harm. If I had not known that the Prophet kissed thee, I would not have done so, but on account of that I do it." 'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Umar was seen riding his camel round and round a certain place. In answer to an inquiry as to his reason for so doing he said, 'I know not, only I have seen the Prophet do so here.' Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, one of the four great Imáms, and the founder of the Ḥanbalí school of interpretation, is said to have been appointed on account of the care with which he observed the Sunna. One day when sitting in an assembly he alone of all present observed some formal custom authorized by the practice of the Prophet. Gabriel at once appeared and informed him that now, and on account of his act, he was appointed an Imám.¹ In short, it is distinctly laid down that the best of all works is the following of the practice of Muḥammad. The essence of religion has been stated by a learned theologian to consist of three things : first, to follow the Prophet in morals and in acts ; secondly, to eat only lawful food ; thirdly, to be sincere in all actions.

¹ 'The respect which modern Muslims pay to their Prophet is almost idolatrous. The Imám ibn Ḥanbal would not even eat water-melons because, although he knew the Prophet ate them, he could not learn whether he ate them with or without the rind, or whether he broke, bit, or cut them : and he forbade a woman, who questioned him as to the propriety of the act, to spin by the light of torches passing in the streets by night, because the Prophet had not mentioned that it was lawful to do so.' Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 354.

The Sunna is now known to Musalmáns through the collections of Traditions gathered together by the men whose names they now bear. The whole are called *Ṣiḥāḥu's-Sitta*, or 'six correct books'. Not one of these collectors flourished until the third century of the *Hijra*, and so, as may be easily supposed, their work has not passed unchallenged. There is by no means an absolute consensus of opinion among the Sunnís as to the exact value of each Tradition, yet all admit that a 'genuine Tradition' must be obeyed. Whether the Prophet spoke what in the Traditions is recorded as spoken by him under the influence of the highest kind of inspiration is, as will be shown in the next chapter, a disputed point ; but it matters little. Whatever may have been the degree, it was according to Muslim belief a real inspiration, and thus his every act and word became a law as binding upon his followers as the example of Christ is upon Christians.

The *Shí'ahs* do not acknowledge the *Ṣiḥāḥu's-Sitta*, the six correct books of the Sunnís, but it by no means follows that they reject Tradition. They have five books of Traditions, the earliest of which was compiled by *Abú Ja'far Muḥammad A.H. 329*, a century later than the *Ṣaḥíḥu'l-Bukhárí*, the most trustworthy of the Sunní set. Thus all Musalmán sects accept the first and second ground of the Faith—the *Qur'án* and the Sunna—as the inspired will of God ; the *Shí'ahs* substituting, in the place of the Traditions on which the Sunna is based, a collection of their own. What it is important to maintain is this, that the *Qur'án* alone is to no Musalmán an all-sufficient guide.

3. IJMÁ'.¹—The third foundation of the Faith is called Ijmá', a word signifying to be collected or assembled. Technically it means the unanimous consent of the leading theologians, or what in Christian theology would be called the 'unanimous consent of the Fathers.'² Practically it is a collection of the opinions of the Companions, the Tábi'ún and the Taba'u't-Tábí'in. 'The Law,' says Ibn Khaldún, 'is grounded on the general accord of the Companions and their followers.' Ibn Abú Dá'úd says : 'A schismatic once came to al-Ma'mún, who said to him, "Why didst thou oppose us?" He replied, "A verse of the book of God." "Which?" "The words of the Most High—whoso judgeth not according to what God has revealed,

¹ 'In the Qur'án and the Traditions we have respectively the undoubted and the probable teaching of the Prophet, each equally binding upon his followers. But the Muslim has something more than this to guide him, and this last is what Western students of Islám are apt to underestimate. Christians would call it the "general consent of the Fathers," and possibly reject it. Muḥammadans call it Ijmá' and implicitly obey it.' (Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 319.) Since the Muḥammadan religion does not admit the possibility of further revelation after the death of the Prophet, the principle of Ijmá' may be regarded as the only authority for legislation now available in the Muḥammadan system. (*Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 54.) C. Snouck Hurgronje quotes a Tradition : 'My community will never agree in an error,' and goes on to say : 'In terms more familiar to us, this means that the Muḥammadan Church taken as a whole is infallible; that all the decisions on matters practical or theoretical, on which it is agreed, are binding on its members. . . . It was through the agreement (Ijmá') that dogmatic speculations as well as minute discussions about points of law became legitimate. The stamp of Ijmá' was essential to every rule of life, to all manners and customs.' *Muḥammadanism*, pp. 78-9.

² There is (1) agreement of word (ittifáqu'l-qaul); (2) agreement of practice (ittifáqu'l-fi'l); (3) agreement of silence (ittifáqu's-sakút) or tacit assent by silence or non-interference; (4) composed agreement (ijmá'u'l-murakkab) agreement as to the matter, but difference as to the cause ('illat); (5) simple agreement (ijmá' ghairu'l-murakkab), or absolute agreement in everything.

they are infidels.” The Khalífa then wished to know whether he had any certain knowledge that this had been revealed, and what his proof was. He answered thus—“ The consensus of the people,” to which al-Ma’mún rejoined, “ As thou art content with their agreement concerning the revelation, be content with their unanimity in the interpretation thereof.” The man then said, “ Thou hast spoken truly ; peace be to thee, O Prince of the Faithful.”¹ Baiḍáwí quotes the following text : ‘ Ye were the best nation produced to men ; ye enjoined right and forbade wrong, and believed in God ’ (iii. 105), and says that it is used to prove that the agreements of believers is a source of Law, for this verse makes it certain that they enjoined everything right and forbade everything wrong (i. 170). There is a Tradition which says : ‘ My people will never agree on error or wrong.’² The election of ‘Abú Bakr to the Khalífate is called Ijmá‘u’l-ummat, the unanimous consent of the whole sect. The Companions of the Prophet had special knowledge of the various circumstances under which special revelations had been made ; they alone knew which verses of the Qur’án abrogated others, and which verses were thus abrogated. The knowledge of these matters and many other details they handed on to their successors, the Tábi‘ún, who passed the information on to their followers, the Taba‘u’t-Tábi‘ín. Some of the Mu’tazilís seem to reject Ijmá‘ altogether,³ and some Muslims, the Wahhábís,

¹ Jalálu’d-dín as-Syúfí, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 335

² امتی لا تجتمع على ملالة تجتمع امنی على خطا

³ *Al-Milal wa’n-Nihál*, p. 87.

for example, accept only the Ijmá' of the Companions, and by all sects that is placed in the first rank as regards authority ; others accept that of the 'Fugitives' who dwelt at Madína ; and there are some amongst the orthodox who allow, as a matter of theory, that Ijmá' may be collected at any time, but that practically it is not done because there are now no Mujtahids. The highest rank a Muslim theologian could reach was that of a Mujtahid, or one who could make an ijtihád—a word which, derived from the same root as jihád (a crescentade), means in its technical sense a logical deduction. It is defined as the 'attaining to a certain degree of authority in searching into the principles of jurisprudence.' The origin of ijtihád was as follows:—Muḥammad wished to send a man named Mu'ádh to Yaman to receive some money collected for alms, which he was then to distribute to the poor. On appointing him he said, 'O Mu'ádh, by what rule will you act?' He replied, 'By the law of the Qur'án.' 'But if you find no direction therein?' 'Then I will act according to the Sunna of the Prophet.' 'But what if that fails?' 'Then I will make an ijtihád and act on that. The Prophet raised his hands and said, 'Praise be to God, who guides the messenger of His Prophet in what He pleases.'¹ This is considered a proof of the authority of ijtihád, for the Prophet clearly sanctioned it.

When the Prophet was alive, men could go to him with their doubts and fears ; an infallible authority

¹ *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat* (ed. Madras, A.H. 1271), p. 1009.

was always present, ready to give an inspired direction. They knew by experience that for each new case as it arose, that for each new emergency, Gabriel would bring some message direct from heaven, or that Muḥammad would be rightly guided in the orders he gave.¹ The Khālífas who succeeded the Prophet had only to administer the Law according to the opinions which they knew Muḥammad had held. They were busily engaged in carrying on the work of conquest ; they neither attempted any new legislation, nor did they depart from the practice of him whom they revered. 'In the first days of Islám the knowledge of the Law was purely traditional. In forming their judgments, they had no recourse either to speculation, to private opinion, or to arguments founded upon analogy.'² The duty of the religious teachers was, according to Ibn Khaldún, 'to communicate to others the orders which they had heard from the mouth of the Legislator.'³ 'The Prophet charged the principal men amongst his Companions to teach the (Arab) people the precepts of the Law which he had brought to men. This mission was at first confided to ten of the chief Companions, afterwards to others of lower rank. When Islám was firmly established and its foundations strengthened, the more distant people received it by means of their adherents ; but after a while that teaching suffered modification, and they had to deduce from the sacred writings maxims to apply to

¹ The Qur'án is said to be 'an explanation of all things' (xiii, iii), that is, according to the commentators Ḥusain and Baiḳáwí it explains all things religious and scented (dín wa dunya).

² Ibn Khaldún, ii. 469.

³ *Ibid.*, i. 60.

the numerous cases which constantly came before the tribunals.’¹ Thus, as the Empire grew, new conditions of life arose, giving rise to questions concerning which Muḥammad had given no explicit direction. This necessitated the use of *ijtihád*. During the *Khalífates* of Abú Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmán and ‘Alí—the *Khulafá’u’r-Ráshidún*, or the *Khalífas* who could guide men in the right way—the custom was for the Faithful to consult them as to the course of action to be pursued under some new development of circumstances ; for they knew as none other did the Prophet’s sayings and deeds ; they could recall to their memories a saying or an act from which a decision could be deduced. In this way all Muslims could feel that in following their judgments and guidance they were walking in the right path. But after the death of ‘Alí, the fourth *Khalífa*, civil war and hostile factions imperilled the continuance of the Faith in its purity. At Madína, where Muḥammad’s career as a recognized Prophet was best known, devout men commenced to learn by heart the Qur’án, the Sunna, and the analogical judgments (*ijtihád*) of the four *Khalífas*. These men were looked up to as authorities, and their decisions were afterwards known as the ‘Customs of Madína.’

It is not difficult to see that a system which sought to regulate all departments of life, all developments of men’s ideas and energies, by the Sunna and analogical deductions therefrom was one which not only gave every temptation a system could give to

¹ Ibn *Khaldún*, i. 61.

the manufacture of Tradition, but one which would soon become too cumbersome to be of practical use. Hence, it was absolutely necessary to systematize all this incoherent mass of Tradition, of judgments given by Khalífas and Mujtahids. The transformation of precedents into dogma is familiar to students of Canon Law. In Islám unfortunately the whole structure is canonical. Thus arose the systems of jurisprudence, founded by the four orthodox Imáms, to one or other of which all Muslims, except the Shi'áhs, belong. The Muslim, free to choose his own school of law (madhhab), must, after he has made his choice, abide by its decisions and rules in every respect. These Imáms, Abú Ḥanífa, Ibn Málík, ash-Sháfi'í and Ibn Ḥanbal, were all Mujtahids of the highest rank. It is the orthodox belief that after them there has been no Mujtahid. Thus in a standard theological book much used in India it is written : ' Ijmá ' is this, that it is not lawful to follow any other than the four Imáms.' ' In these days the Qádí must make no order, the Muftí give no fatvá (i.e. a legal decision), contrary to the opinion of the four Imáms.' ' To follow any other is not lawful.' ' To act contrary to the Ijmá ' is unlawful.'¹ So far then as orthodoxy is concerned, change and progress are impossible.

Imám Abú Ḥanífa² was born at Baṣra (A.H. 80), but he spent the greater part of his life at Kúfa, and died at Baghdád in the year A.H. 150. He had two disciples, famous in the legal world, Muḥammad

¹ *Dawábīṭu'l-Furqán*, p. 17

² See *The Encyclopædia of Islám*, pp 90-1.

and Abú Yúsuf.¹ He was the founder and teacher of the body of legists known as 'the jurists of 'Iráq.'² His system differs considerably from that of the Imám Málik, who, living at Madína, confines himself chiefly to Tradition as the basis of his judgments. Madína was full of the memories of the sayings and acts of the Prophet; Kúfa, the home of Ḥanífa, on the contrary, was not founded till after the Prophet's death, and so possessed none of his memories. Islám there came into contact with other races of men, but from them it had nothing to learn. If these men became Muslims, well and good: if not, the one law for them as for the Faithful was the teaching of Muḥammad. Various texts of the Qur'án are adduced to prove the correctness of this position. 'For to thee have we sent down the book which cleareth up everything' (xvi. 91). 'Nothing have we passed over in the book' (vi. 38). 'Neither is there a grain in the darkness of the earth, nor a thing green or sere, but it is noted in a distinct writing' (vi. 59). These texts were held to prove that all law was provided for by anticipation in the Qur'án. If a verse could not be found bearing on any given question, analogical deduction was resorted to. Thus: 'He it is who created *for you* all that is on earth' (ii. 27). According to the Ḥanífí jurists, this is a deed of gift which annuls all other rights of property. The 'you'

¹ Imám Muḥammad wrote the *Jámi'u'l-Kabir* and the *Jámi'u's-sághir*. Imám Abú Yúsuf wrote the *Álddbu'l-Qádl*, a work on the duties of a judge.

² Other famous lawyers were the 'jurists of Madína, who were looked upon as the upholders of Tradition, whilst those of 'Iráq inclined more to 'private opinion.'

refers to Muslims. The earth¹ may be classified under three heads : (1) land which never had an owner ; (2) land which had an owner and has been abandoned ; (3) the person and property of the Infidels. From the last division the same legists deduce the lawfulness of slavery, piracy, and constant war against the unbelievers. Abú Ḥanífa was esteemed a great master in the art of qiyás. The following story on this point is related by 'Alí Ibn 'Asún. 'I went to visit Abú Ḥanífa, and found with him a barber about to cut his hair. "Cut away only the parts which are white," said Abú Ḥanífa. To which the barber replied, "Do not insist on that." "Why not ?" "Because thou wilt increase their whiteness." "Well," said Abú Ḥanífa, "cut away those that are black, that may *perhaps* increase their blackness." 'Alí Ibn 'Asún continues the story thus : 'I told Shauq about this. He laughed and said, "If ever Abú Ḥanífa gave up his system of qiyás he did so with the barber. That is, he used the word *perhaps*, and did not draw an absolute conclusion."'² Abú Ḥanífa admitted very few Traditions as authoritative in his system,³ which claims

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 4me Série, tome xii. ² Ibn Khalkán, iii. 559.

³ 'The Traditions which Abú Ḥanífa has reported are few in number, because before he admitted the exactness and the probity of the persons who had collected them, he rigorously exacted that all the conditions of authenticity should be perfectly fulfilled. That which has proved him to be one of the greatest and most conscientious collectors of Tradition is the great authority which his system rightly enjoys amongst the Musalmáns, and the confidence which they place in the author and in his opinions. After his death his disciples relaxed the rigour of their master's conditions, and published Traditions wholesale' (Ibn Khaldún, ii. 478). 'His followers used Tradition much more freely and so modified his system greatly.' Sir 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 32.

to be a logical development from the Qur'án. 'The merit of logical fearlessness cannot be denied to it. The wants and wishes of men, the previous history of a country—all those considerations, in fact, which are held in the West to be the governing principles of legislation, are set aside by the legists of 'Iráq as being of no account whatever. Legislation is not a science inductive and experimental, but logical and deductive.'¹

Imám Ibn Málik was born at Madína in the year A.H. 93 and died there at the age of eighty-two. His system of jurisprudence, as might be expected from his connexion with the sacred city, is founded on the 'Customs of Madína.' His business was to arrange and systematize the Traditions current in Madína, and to form out of them and the 'Customs' a system of jurisprudence embracing the whole sphere of life. The treatise composed by him was called the *Muwattá* or 'The Beaten Path.' The greater part of its contents are legal maxims and opinions delivered by the Companions. His system of jurisprudence, therefore, has been described as historical and traditional. His followers are chiefly to be found in the northern parts of Africa. In an elegy on his death by Abú Muhammad Ja'far it is said: 'His Traditions were of the greatest authority; his gravity was impressive; and when he delivered them, all his auditors were plunged in admiration.'² The Traditions were his great delight. 'I delight,' said he, 'in testifying my profound respect for the sayings

¹ Osborn, *Islám under the Khalífs*; p. 29.

² Ibn Khallikán, *Biographical Dictionary*, ii. 594.

of the Prophet of God, and I never repeat one unless I feel myself in a state of perfect purity' ¹ (i.e. after performing a legal ablution). As death approached, his one fear was lest he should have exercised his private judgment in delivering any legal opinion. In his last illness a friend went to visit him, and inquiring why he wept, received the following answer : ' Why should I not weep, and who has more right to weep than I ? By Alláh ! I wish I had been flogged and reflogged for every question of law on which I pronounced an opinion founded on my own private judgment.' ²

Imám ash-Sháfi'í, ³ a member of the Quraish tribe, was born in Palestine, A.H. 150. He passed his youth at Mecca, but finally settled in Fustát, where he died (A.H. 204). His two chief disciples were Imáms Aḥmad and az-Zuhairí. Ibn Khallikán relates of him that he was unrivalled for his knowledge of the Qur'án, the Sunna, and the sayings of the Companions. ' Never,' said Imám Ibn Ḥanbal, ' have I passed a night without praying for God's mercy and blessing upon ash-Sháfi'í.' ' Whosoever pretends,' said Abú Thaurí, ' that he saw the like of ash-Sháfi'í for learning is a liar.' Having carefully studied the systems of the two preceding Imáms, he then proceeded on an electric system to form his own. It was a reaction against the system of Abú Ḥanífa. Ash-Sháfi'í follows rather the traditional plan of Ibn

¹ The Khallikán, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 546 ² *Ibid.*, ii. 584

³ He was a descendant of Abú Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet. He spared no pains in discovering the origin of a traditions and travelled from place to place for information and to consult the descendants of the Muhájirún, the fugitives from Mecca and the Anṣár, the helpers at Madína.

Málik who is called the Náṣiru'l-Ḥadīth, the protector of Tradition. The Ḥanífí will be satisfied if, in the absence of a clear and a direct statement, he finds one passage in the Qur'án or one Tradition from which the required judgment may be deduced. The Sháfi'í in the same circumstances, if tradition is the source of his deduction, will require a considerable number of Traditions from which to make it. Ash-Sháfi'í also gave greater scope to Ijmá' than Málik did. Dá'úd az-Zúhiri (David the Literalist) opposed the teaching of ash-Sháfi'í. He maintained that the Qur'án and the Traditions must be taken literally, and would have nothing to do with analogy (Qiyás). Dá'úd's school lasted for a while, but never became an acknowledged authority on Muslim law.¹

Imám Ibn Ḥanbal was the last of the four orthodox Imáms. He was born at Baghdád (A.H. 164). His system is a distinct return to traditionalism. 'For him theological truth could not be reached by reasoning ('aql); tradition (naql) from the fathers was the only ground on which the dubious words of the Qur'án could be explained.'² He lived at Baghdád during the reign of the Khalífa al-Ma'mún, when orthodox Islám seemed in danger of being lost amid the rationalistic speculations (that is, from an orthodox Muslim standpoint) and licentious practices of the Court. The

¹ See Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, pp 110-12; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 402.

² Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p 157.

jurists most in favour at Court were followers of Abú Ḥanífa. They carried the principle of analogical deduction to dangerous lengths in order to satisfy the latitudinarianism of the Khalífa. Human speculation seemed to be weakening all the essentials of the Faith. Ibn Ḥanbal met the difficulty by discarding altogether the principle of analogical deduction. At the same time he saw that the Málíkí system, founded as it was on the 'Customs of Madína,' was ill suited to meet the wants of a great and growing Empire. It needed to be supplemented. What better, what surer ground could he go upon than the Traditions? These at least were inspired, and thus formed a safer foundation on which to build a system of jurisprudence than the analogical deductions of Abú Ḥanífa did. The system of Ibn Ḥanbal has almost ceased to exist. There is now no Muftí of this sect at Mecca, though the other three are represented there.¹ Still his influence is felt to this day in the importance he attached to Tradition.²

The distinction between the four Imáms has been put in this way. Abú Ḥanífa exercised his own judgment,³ though this has not had much permanent

¹ The approximate number of the followers of these four Imáms has been stated thus: Ḥanífis 130 millions, Sháfi'is 58 millions, Málíkís 16 millions, Ḥanbalís 6 millions.

² See *Encyclopædia of Islám*, pp. 188-9, under Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal, for a good account of this jurist.

³ 'The opinion of many European writers that Abú Ḥanífa worked on quite new principles, in which he made the greatest concessions to the speculative method of deduction (Qiyá-) is quite unfounded.' *Encyclopædia of Islám*, p. 90.

influence on his system.¹ Málik and Ḥanbal preferred authority and precedent. Ash-Sháfi'í entirely repudiated reason. They differ, too, as regards the value of certain Traditions, but to each of them an authentic Tradition is an incontestable authority. Their opinion on points of doctrine and practice forms the third basis of the Faith. A Muslim must belong to one or other of these schools of law, though he ought not to consider a believer who belongs to a school different from his own as a heretic. A Tradition, probably framed to meet this case, says : the 'disagreement of my people is a mercy from God.'

The Ijmá' of the four Imáms² is a binding law upon all Sunnis. It might be supposed that, as the growing needs of the Empire led to the formation of these schools of interpretation, so now the requirements of modern social and political life might be met by fresh Imáms making new analogical deductions. This is not the case. The orthodox belief is, that since the time of the four Imáms there has been no Mujtahid who could do as they did. 'After the close of the third century of the Hijra, no one

¹ 'The advantages possessed by the Ḥanifís through their partial recognition of natural reason counted for less and less as the centuries wore on. Not only were their teachers, from Abú Yúsuf downwards, ambitious of displaying their acquaintance with the Traditions, and of using them in support of their views whenever they could, thereby debarring themselves from repudiating such as told against them, but the authority of the earlier teachers was invoked to fetter the liberty of their successors.' Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muḥammadan Law*, p. 40.

² They are agreed on all fundamental doctrines of Islám, and only differ on the minor questions of rites and ceremonies and on certain laws of jurisprudence. Their authority is great for they belong to the class of Mujtahid fi'l-Sharí'

has succeeded in obtaining the recognition of the Muḥammadan world as an independent thinker in jurisprudence.’¹ If circumstances should arise which absolutely require some decision to be arrived at, it must be given in full accordance with the madhhab, or school of interpretation, to which the person framing the decision belongs. This effectually prevents all change and by excluding innovation, whether good or bad, keeps Islām stationary. Legislation is now purely deductive. Nothing must be done contrary to the principles contained in the jurisprudence of the four Imáms. ‘Thus, in any Muḥammadan State, legislative reforms are simply impossible. There exists no initiative. The Sultán or Khalífa can claim the allegiance of his people only so long as he remains the exact executor of the prescriptions of the Law.’

The question then as regards the politics of the ‘Eastern Question’ is not whether Muḥammad was a deceiver or self-deceived, whether the Qur’án is on the whole good or bad ; whether Arabia was the better or the worse for the change Muḥammad wrought ; but what Islām as a religious and political system has become and is, how it now works, what orthodox Muslims believe and how they act on that belief. The essence of that belief is, that the system as taught by Prophet, Khalífas, and Imáms is absolutely perfect. The following statement by the author of the *Akhláq-i-Jalálí*, a book held in very great esteem, is most important. He says : ‘Authority becomes sacred because sanctioned by

¹ *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 34.

Heaven. Despotism, being the first form of consolidated political authority, is thus rendered unchangeable and identical in fact with government at large. Supreme government has four stages : (1) where the absolute prince (Muḥammad) is among them, concentrating in his own person the four cardinal virtues, and this we call the reign of wisdom ; (2) where the prince appears no longer, neither do these virtues centre in any single person, but are found in four (Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán and 'Alí), who govern in concert with each other, as if they were one, and this we call the reign of the pious ; (3) where none of these is to be found any longer, but a chief (Khalifa) arises with a knowledge of the rules propounded by the previous ones, and with judgment enough to apply and explain them, and this we call the reign of the Sunna ; (4) where these latter qualities, again, are not to be met with in a single person, but only in a variety who govern in concert ; and this we call the reign of the Sunna followers.'¹ A bad king can be deposed. A bad constitution can be ended only by a revolution. But in Islám innovation is worse than a mistake: it is a crime, a sin. This completeness, this finality of his system of religion and polity, is the very pride and glory of a true Muslim. To look for an increase of light in the knowledge of his relation to God and the unseen world in the laws which regulate Islám on earth is to admit that Muḥammad's revelation was incomplete, and that admission no Muslim will make. In fact, so hope-

¹ *Akhlāq i-Jalāli*, pp. 374, 378.

less has the attempt to reform Islám from within been felt to be, that the recent reformers, the Bábís of Persia, gave up the idea and recognized the fact that freedom could be gained only by substituting for Muḥammad's revelation a still later one, which claims not only to be suited to present needs, but to be of equal, if not even superior, authority.

It has been stated on high authority that all that is required for the reform of Turkey is that the Qánúns, or orders of the Sulṭán, should take the place of the Sharí'at, or law of Islám. Precisely so ; if this could be done Turkey might be reformed ; but Islám would cease to be the religion of the State. That the law as formulated by the Imám Abú Ḥanífa ill suits the conditions of modern life is more than probable ; but it is the very function of the Khalífa of Islám, which the Sulṭán claims to be, to maintain it.¹ He is no Mujtahid, for such there are not now amongst the Sunnís, to which sect the Turks belong. If through stress of circumstances some new law must be made, orthodoxy demands that it should be strictly in accordance with the opinions of the Imáms. Ibn Khaldún lays great stress on the fact that the legists were not to use their own judgment. He says : ' As the opinion of

¹ The ' general trust ' with which the Khalífas are invested implies no legislative but only administrative powers. All questions of dogma, private right and rites are entirely without their competency. The prohibition of free criticism and exegesis has become a fundamental dogma of Islámic orthodoxy. Neither the Khalífa nor the Shaikhul-Islám may deviate by a hair's breadth from the jurisprudence established by Abú Ḥanífa and the Imáms, Muḥammad and Abú Yúsuf. Thus the reforming Hatts in the ' eye of Muslim orthodoxy have no value.' *A Study in Turkish Reform*, by a Turkish Patriot in the *Fortnightly Review*, May 1897, p. 649.

each Imám formed, for those who followed it, the subject of a special science, *and as it did not permit them to decide new questions by reason, or by the conscientious employment of their own judgment* (ijtihád) they were obliged, in every doubtful case, to search for points of similarity, or of difference which would permit them to connect it with a question already settled, or from which they could entirely distinguish it. In so doing, they were obliged to commence by resting on the principles which the founder of the system had established ; and, in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to have acquired in a substantial manner the faculty of using these points of assimilation and distinction well, by following, as much as possible, the opinion of their Imám.' ¹

The Shí'ahs, in opposition to the Sunnis, hold that there are still Mujtahids, but this opinion arises from their peculiar doctrine of the Imámat, a subject we shall discuss a little later on. At first sight it would seem that, if there can be Mujtahids who are now able to give authoritative opinions, there may be some hope of enlightened progress amongst Shí'ah people—the Persians, for example. There is doubtless amongst them more religious unrest, more mysticism, more heresy, but they are no further on the road of progress than their neighbours ; and the apparent advantage of the presence of a Mujtahid is quite nullified by the fact that all his decisions must be strictly in accordance with the Qur'án and the Sunna, or rather with what to the

¹ Ibn Khaldún, iii. 15.

Shí'ah stands in the place of the Sunna. The Shí'ah, as well as the Sunní, must base all legislation on the fossilized system of the past, not on the living needs of the present. Precedent rules both with an iron sway. 'It is not to the Sháh, but to the trained and certificated interpreters of the Shari'at—a different Shari'at from that of the Sunní, but built up on the same Qur'anic foundations, by similar methods and with analogous though different materials—that the faithful are supposed to look for guidance to their consciences, for determinations in points of law. In this and in similar ways the Shari'at is fairly effectually secured against modification by the (Persian) Government of the day.'¹ There is a sort of unwritten law, called 'Urf,² which the secular ruler administers through his own civil officers; but in any conflict between the 'Urf and the Shari'at the former has to give way. It is the province of the Mujtahids to declare when such opposition arises, and so the chance of any reforms being initiated, or, if proposed by others, accepted by the Mujtahids of Persia, is very remote indeed.³ As a matter of practical fact, they are opposed to any sound measures of reform. It is here that the conflict of the future will lie. In a Muslim State

¹ Sir R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadian Law*, pp. 69-70.

² 'Like the common law of England it is the result of gradual growth from common necessities—a code of precedents.' Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, p. 342.

³ S. G. W. Benjamin, late Minister of the United States in Persia, says: 'The 'Urf can never go against the Shari'at; and in case of appeal the final decision rests with the Shari'at, its canons in difficult questions being expounded by the Head of the Priesthood, called in Persia, the chief Mujtahid.' *Persia and the Persians*, p. 342. For a full account of the 'Urf, see the same book, chapter xv.

affected by modern political forces, a system of law, based on custom grows up. The orthodox theologian, however, looks upon this as wrong and so it becomes very difficult to introduce modern ideas, or civil liberty into a Muslim country.¹ This difficulty is increased in Turkey, for, as the Sultán claims to be the Khalífa, he becomes, so far as he can maintain this claim, the conservator of Muslim Law and Tradition.

The Wahnábís reject all Ijmá' except that of the Companions, but that they accept; so when they are called the Puritans of Islám, it must be remembered that they accept as a rule of faith not only the Qur'án, but the Sunna and some Ijmá'.

The whole subject of ijtihád is one of the most important in connexion with the possibility of reforms in a Muslim state. A modern Muḥammadan writer,² seeking to show that Islám does possess a capacity for progress, and that so far from being a hard and fast system, it is able to adapt itself to new circumstances, because the Prophet ushered in 'an age of active principles,' uses the story I have already related when describing the origin of ijtihád to prove the accuracy of his statement. He states that Mu'ádh said: 'I will look first to the Qur'án, then to precedents of the Prophet, and lastly rely upon my *own judgment*.' It is true that ijtihád literally means 'great effort'; it is true that the

¹ 'From the Madína period downwards Islám has always been considered by its adherents as bound to regulate all the details of their life by means of prescriptions emanating directly or indirectly from God, and therefore incapable of being reformed.' C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Muḥammadanism*, pp. 139-40.

² Syed Amír 'Alí, *Life of Muḥammad*, p. 289.

Companions and Mujtahids of the first class had the power of exercising their judgment in doubtful cases, and of deciding them according to their sense of the fitness of things, provided always that their decision contravened no law of the Qur'án or the Sunna; but this in no way proves that Islám has any capacity for progress, or that 'an age of active principles' was ushered in by Muḥammad, or that his 'words breathe energy and force, and infuse new life into the dormant heart of humanity.' For though the term *ijtihád* might, in reference to the men I have mentioned, be somewhat freely translated as 'one's own judgment,' it is now, in this connexion, a purely technical term, and its use, and only use, is to express the referring of a difficult case to some analogy drawn from the Qur'án and the Sunna.¹ Since the days of the four Imáms, the orthodox believe that there has been no Mujtahid of the first class, and Ibn Khaldún has most clearly shown that the followers of the Imáms are not to decide 'new questions by reason, or by the conscientious employment of their own judgment.' Thus granting, for the sake of argument, that the suggested translation is grammatically and technically correct, all that results from it is that the 'age of active principles' lasted only for two centuries. The Turks are included in 'the dormant heart of

¹ 'As a term of jurisprudence, it (*ijtihád*) denotes the application by a lawyer (*faqíh*) of all his faculties to the consideration of the authorities of the law (that is, the Qur'án, the Traditions and the *Ijmá'*) with a view to find out what in all probability is the law' (*Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 168). This is a much more accurate definition of the term *ijtihád* than the loose one of 'one's own judgment,' given by Syed Amír 'Alí.

humanity,' but it is difficult to see what 'energy and force' is breathed, what 'new life is infused' into them by the 'wonderful words' of the Prophet, or what lasting good the 'age of active principles' has produced. The author, whose words I have just quoted, practically admits that the explanation I have given of the orthodox position is historically correct, when he speaks of 'the idea which has taken possession of the legists that the exercise of private judgment stopped in the third century of the Hijra.'¹

4. QIYÁS is the fourth foundation of Islám. The word literally means reasoning, comparing. It is in common use in Hindustani and Persian in the ordinary sense of guessing, considering. Technically, it means the analogical reasoning of the learned with regard to the teaching of the Qur'án, the Sunna, and the Ijmá'. For example, the Qur'án says: 'Honour thy father and thy mother, and be not a cause of displeasure to them.' It is evident from this that disobedience to parents is prohibited, and prohibition implies punishment if the order is disobeyed. Again, if the Qur'án and the Sunna hold children responsible, according to their means, for the debts of their father, does it not follow that the elder ones ought to fulfil for their parents all those obligations which for some reason or other the parents may not be able to perform, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca, etc.? It is said in the Qur'án that 'the maintenance of a woman who suckles an infant rests upon him to whom the child is born.'

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, September 1895, p. 375.

From this the opinion is deduced that the maintenance of the infant also falls upon the father. A Tradition said to come from the Companions runs thus: 'One day a woman came to the Prophet and said, "My father died without making the Pilgrimage." The Prophet said, "If thy father had left a debt what wouldst thou do?" "I would pay the debt." "Good, then pay this debt also." ' The Qur'án forbids the use of khamr, and intoxicating substance, and so it is argued that wine and opium are unlawful, though not forbidden by name. The Wahhábís would extend the prohibition to the use of tobacco.

From cases such as these, many jurisconsults hold that the Mujtahids of the earliest age established this fourth foundation of the faith which they call Qiyás. It is also called I'tibáru'l-Amthál, or 'imitation of an example.' The idea is taken from the verse :¹ 'Profit by this example, ye who are men of insight' (lix. 2). There are strict rules laid down which regulate Qiyás, of which the most important is, that in all cases it must be based on the Qur'án, the Sunna, and the Ijmá'.² In fact, the fundamental idea of Islám is that a perfect law has been given, even unto details, of social and political life. The teaching of Muḥammad contains

¹ Baiḍáwí, on Súratu l-Hashr (lix) 2.

² (i) The practice or precept on which it is founded must be of general and not of special application

(ii) The cause of the injunction must be known.

(iii) The decision must be based on the Qur'án, the Sunna and the Ijmá'.

(iv) The decision must not contravene any statement in the Qur'án or the Traditions.

the solution of every difficulty that can arise. Every law not provided by the Prophet must be deduced analogically. This produces uniformity after a fashion, but only because intellectual activity in higher pursuits ceases and moral stagnation follows. Thus all who come within the range of this system are bound down to political servitude. Whatever in feeling or conviction goes beyond the limits of an outworn set of laws is swept away. There is a wonderful family likeness in the decay of all Musalmán States, which seems to point to a common cause. All first principles are contained in the Qur'án and the Sunna; all that does not coincide with them must be wrong. They are above all criticism.'

Qiyás, then, affords no hope of enlightened progress, removes no fetter of the past, for in it there must be no divergence in principle from a legislation imperfect in its relation to modern life and stationary in its essence. 'The laws of Islám, taken in the lump, the only way which their alleged sacred origin allowed them to be taken, and chiefly because they could only be so taken, were bad anywhere and for any community, and became worse and worse the farther they were transplanted from their original surroundings; worse under the Khalí-fate of Baghdád than at Madína under the rightly-directed Khalífas and worse for the Hindus of the seventeenth century than for Baghdád in the ninth.'²

' 'To make Islám rational, you must throw over the entire system of authority that has been elaborately built up and accepted for thirteen hundred years; and once authority is cast aside, the sanction of the creed disappears.' Stanley Lane-Poole, *Islam*, p. 55.

² Sir R. W. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, p. 87.

In the *Niháyatu'l-Murád* it is written : 'We are shut up to following the four Imáms.' In the *Tafsír-i-Aḥmadí* we read : 'To follow any other than the four Imáms is unlawful.' An objector may say that such respect is like the reverence the heathen pay to their ancestors. To this an answer is given in the preface to the *Tarjuma-i-Sharḥ-i-Waqáyah*. The writer there says that it is nothing of the kind. 'The Mujtahids are not the source of the orders of the Law, but they are the medium by which we obtain the Law.' Thus Imám Abú Ḥanífa said, 'We select first from the Qur'án, then from the Traditions, then from the decrees of the Companions ; we act on what the Companions agreed upon ; where they doubt, we doubt.' The commentator Jalálu'd-din Mahlí says, 'The common people and others who have not reached the rank of a Mujtahid must follow one of the four Imáms.' Then when he enters one *madhhab* (sect) he must not change. Again, it may be objected that God gave no order about the appointment of four Imáms. Now, it is recorded in a Tradition that the Prophet said, 'Follow the way of the great company ; whosoever departs from it will enter hell. The followers of the Imáms are a great company.' It is, moreover, the unanimous opinion, the '*Ijmá'u'l-Ummat*,' that the Imáms rightly occupy the position accorded to them. It is a great blessing, as we read in the *Tafsír-i-Aḥmadí* : 'It is of the grace of God that we are shut up to these four Imáms. God approves of this, and into this matter proofs and explanations do not enter.' Should any one further object that, in the days of the Prophet, there were

no Mujtahids, that each man acted on a 'saying' as he heard it, that he did not confine his belief or conduct to the deductions made by some appointed Companion, he may be answered thus : ' For a long time after the death of the Prophet many Companions were alive, and consequently the Traditions then current were trustworthy ; but now it is not so, hence the need for the Imáms and their systems.' ¹

These four foundations—the QUR'ÁN, the SUNNA, IJMÁ', and QIYÁS—form in orthodox Muslim opinion and belief a perfect basis of a perfect religion and polity. They secure the permanence of the system, but they repress an intelligent growth. The underlying idea of the Muslim political system is that the duty of a Government is not to make new laws, but to enforce the existing, perfect, all-embracing sacred law. The bearing of all this on modern politics is very plain. Take again the case of Turkey. The advent of the young Turks has brought no freedom, but rather disaster. The power they gained has been used in stifling independent thought and in cruelly murdering men, women and children belonging to communities other than their own. Finally by siding with Germany in the great war, they have brought disaster and ruin upon the Turkish Empire. The germs of freedom have been and are wanting there as they have never been wanting in any other country in

¹ A modern Muslim writer, who strives to show that Islám is progressive, admits that ' the Sunnis base their doctrines on the entirety of the Traditions. They regard the concordant decisions of the successive Khalífs and of the General Assembly (Ijmá'u'l-ummat) as supplementing the Qur'ánic rules and regulations, and as almost equal in authority to them.' Syed Amír 'Alí, *Personal Law of the Muhammadans*, p. 9.

Europe. 'The ruling power desires no change ; originality of thought, independence of judgment is repressed. 'Some Musalmán conquerors produced types of civilization more or less permanent in India and in Spain. Turkish conquerors, in the full tide of might and energy, have overspread and extirpated ; nowhere have they planted.' Nothing good has the Turk ever done for the world. His rule has been one continued display of brute force unrelieved by any of the reflected glory which shone for a while in Cordova and in Baghdád. No nation can possibly progress the foundations of whose legal and theocratic system are what has been described in this chapter.

A religion that has the misfortune to be identified with the State is on this very account brought into trouble with the latter, whilst the State is on all sides restricted by the religion. Then if the religion is rigid and immobile, the State is unable to progress in the same way as nations, civilized by a higher religion and possessing a freer and more movable form, can advance. Should the State seek to make plans for radical reforms, it destroys its religious basis, and dissensions soon arise.¹

¹ 'If in Christendom the attempt has often been made to weave into one inextricable woof the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Cæsar, yet, as we thankfully own, in the end it has always failed. In Islám it has completely succeeded, and succeeded not as a perversion and defeat of the intentions with which Muḥammadanism was founded, but as the broad realization of all which it was intended to be. The despotisms of the East are not accidents, but the legitimate results of the Qur'án, and so long as this exists as the authoritative book nothing better can come in its stead.' Trench, *Lectures on Medieval Church History*, pp. 55-6.

When brought into diplomatic and commercial intercourse with States possessing the energy and vigour of a national life and liberal constitution, Muslim kingdoms must, in the long-run, fail and pass away. It has been well said that 'Spain is the only instance of a country once thoroughly infused with Roman civilization which has been actually severed from the Empire ; and even then the severance, though of long duration, was but partial and temporary. After a struggle of nearly eight centuries, the higher form of social organization triumphed over the lower, and the power of Islám was expelled.' So it ought to be, and so indeed it must ever be, for despotism must give way to freedom ; the life latent in the subject Christian communities must sooner or later cast off the yoke of an alien rule, which even at its best is petrified and so is incapable of progress. However low a Christian community may have fallen, there is always the possibility of its rising again, for a lofty ideal is placed before it. All its most cherished beliefs point forward and upward. In Islám there is no regenerative power. Its golden age was in the past. When the work of conquest is done, when a Muhammadan nation has had to live by industry, intelligence, and thrift, it has always miserably failed.

In this chapter, which must now draw to a close, I have tried to prove from authentic and authoritative sources that the Qur'án alone is to no Muslim the sole guide of life. The fetters of a dogmatic system fasten alike around the individual and the community. Islám is sterile, it gives no new birth

to the spirit of a man, leads him not in search of new forms of truth, and so it can give no real life, no lasting vitality to a nation. Islám keeps a man on a low level. Hîs ideal is to be the submissive slave of Alláh ; that of the Christian is to be the Christ-like son.¹

¹ ' Islám, reared by the genius of one man out of materials imported from elsewhere, enters this world as a rounded system, seems at first sight completely to answer to the wants of those to the level of whose capacity it was framed, shows itself even afterwards and up to the present time suited to the peoples and the individuals who have not risen above the standpoint of legalism ; but misses the power so to transform itself, as to meet the requirements of a 'higher type of life which in its present form it cannot satisfy. At a given period, it becomes a hindrance to that development of the spirit which it must actually choke, if it be not strong enough to cast it off.' Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 293.

' Marvellously adapted alike to the climate, character and occupation of those countries upon which it has laid its adamant grip, Islám holds its votary in complete thrall from the cradle to the grave. To him it is not only religion, it is government, philosophy, and science as well. The Muḥammadan conception is not so much that of a State Church as, if the expression may be permitted, of a Church State. The undergirders with which society itself is warped round are not of civil but of ecclesiastical fabrication ; and, warped in this superb if paralysing creed, the Musalmán lives in contended surrender of all volition ' Hon., G. Curzon, *Persia*, i. 509.

NOTE TO CHAPTER I

IJTIHÁD

QUESTIONS connected with *ijtihád* are so important in Islám, that I give in this note a more technical account of it than I could do in the chapter just concluded. This account consists of extracts from an article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Quatrième Série, tome 15, on *Le Marche et les Progrès de la Jurisprudence parmi les Sectes orthodoxes Musalmanes*, by Mírzá Kázim Beg, Professor in the University of St. Petersburg. It entirely supports all that has been said in the chapter just concluded of the rigid character of Muḥammadan law, of its fixed and final nature and of the immobility of systems founded thereon.¹

Orthodox Musalmáns admit the following propositions as axioms:—

1. God, the only legislator, has shown the way of felicity to the people whom He has chosen, and in order to enable them to walk in that way He has shown to them the precepts which are found partly in the eternal Qur'án, and partly in the sayings of the Prophet, transmitted to posterity by the Companions and preserved in the Sunna. That way is called the Sharí'at. The rules thereof are called *aḥkám*.

2. The Qur'án and the Sunna, which since their manifestation are the primitive sources of the orders of the Law, form two branches of study, namely, 'ilmu't-tafsír, or the interpretation of the Qur'án, and 'ilmu'l-ḥadīth, or the study of Tradition.

3. All the orders of the Law have regard either to the actions (*dín*) or to the belief (*imán*) of the Mukallafs.²

4. As the Qur'án and the Sunna are the principal sources from whence the precepts of the Sharí'at have been drawn,

¹ The difficulty in making any change is great, for 'as the repealing law must be a text of the Qur'án or Tradition, there could be no repeal of Islámic laws after the death of the Prophet, who, it is believed, was the 'last of the prophets.' *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 113.

² A Mukallaf is one who is subject to the Law. The term Mukallaf is thus equivalent to a consistent Muslim, one who takes trouble (*taklíf*) in his religious duties.

so the rules recognized as the principal elements of actual jurisprudence are the subject of 'ilmu'l-fiqh, or the science of Law.

Fiqh in its root signifies conception, comprehension. Thus Muḥammad prayed for Ibn Mas'úd: 'May God make him comprehend (faqqihahu), and make him know the interpretation of the Qur'án.' Muḥammad, in his quality of judge and chief of the Believers, decided, without appeal or contradiction, all the affairs of the people. His sayings served as a guide to the Companions. After the death of the Prophet the first Khalifas acted on the authority of the Traditions. Meanwhile the Qur'án and the Sunna, the principal elements of religion and legislation, became little by little the subject of controversy. It was then that men applied themselves vigorously to the task of learning by heart the Qur'án and the Traditions, and then that jurisprudence became a separate science. No science had as yet been systematically taught, and the early Musalmáns did not possess books which would serve for such teaching. A change, however, soon took place. In the year in which the great jurisconsult of Syria died (A.H. 80), Nu'mán bin Thábit, surnamed Abú Ḥanífa, was born. He is the most celebrated of the founders of the schools of jurisprudence, a science which ranks first in all Muslim seats of learning. Until that time and for thirty years later the Mufasssirs,¹ Muḥaddithún,² and the Fuqahá,³ had all their knowledge by heart, and those who possessed good memories were highly esteemed. Many of them knew by heart the whole Qur'án, with the comments made on it by the Prophet and by the Companions; they also knew the Traditions and their explanations, and all the commands (ahkám) which proceed from the Qur'án and the Sunna. Such men enjoyed the right of Mujtahids. They transmitted their knowledge to their scholars orally. It was not till towards the middle of the second century A.H. that treatises on the different branches of the Law were written, after which six schools (madḥhabs) of jurisprudence were formed. The founders, Imáms of the first class, were Abú Ḥanífa, known as the Imámu A'zam or

¹ Commentators on the Qur'án. ² The Traditionists.

³ Plural of Faqíh, a theologian.

great Imám, Ibn Málík, ash-Sháfi'í, Hanbal, Sufián az-Zaurí, and Imám Dá'úd az-Zahíri.¹ The two sects founded by Zaurí and Zahíri became extinct in the eighth century of the Hijra. The other four still remain. These men venerated one another. The younger ones speak with great respect of the elder. Thus Sháfi'í said: 'No one in the world was so well versed in jurisprudence as Abú Hanífa was, and he who has read neither his works nor those of his disciples knows nothing of jurisprudence.' Hanbal when sick wore a shirt which had belonged to Sháfi'í, in order that he might be cured of his malady; but all this did not prevent them starting schools of their own, for the right of *ijtihád* is granted to those who are real Mujtahids. There are three degrees of *ijtihád*:—

1. Al-Ijtihád fi'l-Shari': independence in legislation.
2. Al-Ijtihád fi'l-Madhhab: authority in the judicial systems founded by the Mujtahids of the first class.
3. Al-Ijtihád fi'l-Masá'il: authority in cases existing not decided by the authors of the four madhhabs.

The first is called a complete and absolute authority; the second, relative; the third, special.²

The First Degree of Ijtihád

Absolute independence in legislation is the gift of God. He to whom it is given when seeking to discover the meaning of the divine Law is not bound to follow any other teacher. He can use his own judgment. This gift was bestowed on the juris-consults of the first, and to some in the second and third centuries. The Companions, however, who were closely connected with the Prophet, having transmitted immediately to their posterity the treasures of legislation, are looked upon as Mujtahids of much higher authority than those of the second and third centuries. Thus Abú Hanífa says: 'That which comes to us from the Companions is on our head and eyes (i.e. to be received with respect): as to that which comes from the Tábi'un, they are men and we are men.'

¹ Sufián ath-Zaurí and Dá'úd az-Zahíri did not become founders of additional madhhabs, or school of theology and law.

² On these terms, see *Muhammádan Jurisprudence*, pp. 182-4.

Since the time of the *Tābi'ūn* this degree of *ijtihād* has only been conferred on the six great *Imāms*. Theoretically any Muslim can attain to this degree, but it is one of the principles of jurisprudence that the confirmation of this rank is dependent on many conditions, and so no one now gains the honour. These conditions are:—

1. The knowledge of the *Qur'ān* and all that is related to it; that is to say, a complete knowledge of Arabic literature, a profound acquaintance with the orders of the *Qur'ān* and all their subdivisions, their relationship to each other and their connexion with the orders of the *Sunna*. The candidate should know when and why each verse of the *Qur'ān* was written, he should have a perfect acquaintance with the literal meaning of the words, the speciality or generality of each clause, the abrogating and abrogated sentences. He should be able to make clear the meaning of the 'obscure' passages (*mutashābih*), to discriminate between the literal and the allegorical, the universal and the particular.

2. He must know the *Qur'ān* by heart with all the Traditions and explanations.

3. He must have a perfect knowledge of the Traditions, or at least of three thousand of them.

He must know their source, history, object, and their connexion with the laws of the *Qur'ān*. He should know by heart the most important Traditions.

4. A pious and austere life.

5. A profound knowledge of all the sciences of the Law.¹

¹ In the *Alḥikām Sulṭāniyya* amongst other requirements of the office of a *Qāḍī* these are given. 'Knowledge of the law, of its various sources and developments, including therein the *Qur'ān* rightly expounded and its precepts—whether abrogating or abrogated, whether clear or dubious, whether general in their scope or limited, whether unexplained or clearly interpreted; further, the ordinances of the Prophet as established by his words and deeds, and how transmitted—whether by a number of persons or only by a few, whether genuine or doubtful; further, the interpretation placed on them by early Muslims, whether unanimous or not; lastly the power of deciding by analogy (*Qiyās*) and of deducing from the stated principles of law their unexpressed but admitted consequences.' *RASJ*, March 1910, pp. 763-4. For the qualifications of a Mujtahid, see *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 170.

Should any one *now* aspire to such a degree another condition would be added, namely :—

6. A complete knowledge of the four *madhhab*s, or schools of jurisprudence.

The obstacles, then, are almost insurmountable. On the one hand, there is the severity of the 'Ulamá, which requires from the candidate things almost impossible; on the other hand, there is the attachment of the 'Ulamá to their own Imáms, for should such a man arise, no one is bound now to listen to him. Imám Ḥanbal said: 'Draw your knowledge from whence the Imáms drew theirs, and do not content yourself with following others (i.e. modern Mujtahids), for that is certainly blindness of sight.' Thus the schools of the four Imáms remain intact after a thousand years have passed, and so the 'Ulamá recognize since the time of these Imáms no Mujtahid of the first degree. Ibn Ḥanbal was the last.¹

The rights of the man who attained to this degree were very important. He was not bound to be a disciple of another; he was a mediator between the Law and his followers, for whom he established a system of legislation, without any one having the right to make any objection. He had the right to explain the Qur'án, the Sunna, and the Ijmá' according as he understood them. He used the Prophet's words, whilst his disciples only used his. Should a disciple find some discrepancy between a decision of his own Imám and the Qur'án or Traditions, he must abide by the decision of the Imám. The Law does not permit him to interpret after his own fashion. When once the disciple has entered the sect of one Imám, he cannot leave it and join another. He loses the right of private judgment, for only a Mujtahid of the first class can dispute the decision of one of the Imáms. Theoretically such Mujtahids may still arise; but, as we have already shown, practically they do not.

¹ For a modern discussion on this point see *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 173-5.

The Second Degree of Ijtihad

This degree has been granted to the immediate disciples of the great Imáms who have elaborated the systems of their masters. They enjoyed the special consideration of the contemporary 'Ulamá and of their respective Imáms, who in some cases have allowed them to retain their own opinion. The most famous of these men are the two disciples of Abú Hanífa, Abú Yúsuf, and Muḥammad bin al-Hasan. In a secondary matter their opinion carries great weight. It is laid down as a rule that a Muftí may follow the unanimous opinion of these two even when it goes against that of Abú Hanífa.

The Third Degree of Ijtihad

This is the degree of special independence. The candidates for it should have a perfect knowledge of all the branches of jurisprudence according to the four schools, and of the Arabic language and literature. They can solve cases which come before them, giving reasons for their judgment, or decide on cases which have not been settled by previous Mujtahids; but in either case their decisions must always be in absolute accordance with the opinions of the Mujtahids of the first and second classes, and with the principles which guided them. Many of these men attained great celebrity during their lifetime, but to most of them this rank is not accorded till after death. Imám Qádi Khán, who died in the year A.H. 592, closes the list of the most famous of the men whose works serve as a guide to the Muftís and jurisconsults of a later age. Others have since claimed this position, but it is not generally accorded to them by orthodox Sunnis.

There are three other inferior classes of jurists,¹ called Muqallidún, or followers of the Mujtahids; but all that the highest in rank amongst them can do is to explain obscure passages in the writings of the older jurisconsults. By some of the 'Ulamá they are considered to be equal to the Mujtahids

¹ For a list of these, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 36. For the qualifications of a Muqallid, and a discussion on Taqlíd, see *Núrul-Hidáyah* (Urdu translation, Nawab Kishúr Press, Lucknow), pp. 9-17.

of the third class. If there are several conflicting legal opinions on any point, they can select one opinion on which to base their decision. This a mere Qāḍí cannot do. In such a case he would have to refer to these men or to their writings for guidance. They seem to have written commentaries on the legal systems without originating anything new. The author of the *Hidāyah*, who lived at the end of the sixth century A.H., was a Muqallid.¹

Such is Mírzá Kázim Beg's account. It shows how 'the system, as a whole, rejects experience as a guide to deeper insight or wider knowledge; tramples upon the teaching of the past; pays no heed to differences of climate, character, or history; but regards itself as a body of absolute truth, one jot or tittle of which cannot be rejected without incurring the everlasting wrath of God.'²

¹ For a modern view of *ijtihád* and *taqlíd*, see an excellent account in *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 168-92.

² Osborn, *Islám under the Khalifs*, p. 72.

CHAPTER II

EXEGESIS OF THE QUR'ÁN AND THE TRADITIONS

THE following account of this branch of Muslim theology, technically called 'Ilmu'l-Uşúl, may be introduced by a few remarks on the nature of inspiration according to Islám, though that is not, strictly speaking, a portion of this study.

There are two terms used to express different degrees of inspiration, waḥí and ilhám. The former is sometimes divided into waḥí zāhir (external inspiration) and waḥí bātin (internal inspiration), which is almost the same as ilhám. Waḥí is the term applied to the inspiration of the Qur'án, and implies that the very words are the words of God. The whole book was prepared in heaven. Muḥammad, instructed by Gabriel, is simply the medium through which the revelation of waḥí zāhir reaches man. The waḥí Qur'án, or the waḥí zāhir, the highest form of inspiration, always came to the ear of the Prophet through the instrumentality of Gabriel. In Muḥammadan theology this is the special work of Gabriel.¹ Thus in the Traditions it is related that he appeared to Adam twelve times, to Enoch four, to Noah fifty, to Abraham forty-two, to Moses four hundred, to Jesus ten times, to Muḥammad twenty-four thousand times.

¹ The angel Gabriel, on account of his being considered the chief mediator of inspiration, is called the 'Angel of inspiration' — ملك الوحي

There is a lower form of waḥí zāhir, which is called isháratu'l-malak—the sign of the angel. This expresses what Muḥammad meant when he said, 'The Holy Ghost has entered into my heart.' He then received the inspiration through Gabriel, but not, as in the waḥí of the Qur'án, by word of mouth.

Ilhám means the inspiration given to a saint or to a prophet when he, though rightly-guided, delivers the subject-matter out of his own mind, and is not a mere machine to reproduce the messages of Gabriel.

Imám Ghazálí defines ilhám and waḥí thus ¹ : (1) The recipient receives information from an unknown source and in a way unknown. This is called the 'breathing into the heart' (nafakha fi qalb). This is the inspiration of saints and Šúfís. It is ilhám. (2) The recipient knows the medium by which he receives information, i.e. the angel appears to him. This is waḥí and is the inspiration of prophets. (3) Between ilhám and waḥí there is only this difference, namely, that in waḥí the angel who is the medium of communication appears, and in ilhám does not.

It is said that, except when delivering the Qur'án, Muḥammad spoke by ilhám, and not by waḥí. Some, however, believe that the words of the Prophet, as recorded in the Traditions, were waḥí inspiration, and thus they come to be as authoritative as the Qur'án. They are also called waḥí ghairu'l-matlú (unread revelations), i.e. uninspired records of inspired sayings of the Prophet. This opinion is

¹ *Mudáqu'l-Árifín*, an Urdu translation of the *Iḥyá' 'ulumu'd-dín*, (ed. Lucknow 1873), iii. 30.

said by some Muslim theologians to be supported by the text, 'By the Star when it setteth ; your companion Muḥammad *erreth not*, nor is he *led astray*, neither doth he *speak of his own will*. It is none other than a revelation which hath been revealed to him' (liii. 1). In any case, the inspiration of Muḥammad is something quite different from the Christian idea of inspiration, which is to Musalmáns a very imperfect mode of transmitting a revelation of God's will.

That there should be a human as well as a divine side to inspiration is an idea not only foreign, but also quite repugnant to all Muḥammadans. The Qur'án is not a book of principles ; it is a book of directions. The Qur'án describes the revelations given to Moses thus : ' We wrote for him upon the tables a monition concerning every matter, and said, "Receive them thyself with steadfastness, and command thy people to receive them for the observance of its most goodly precepts" ' (vii. 142). It is such an inspiration as this the Qur'án claims for itself. Muḥammad's idea was that it should be a complete and final code of directions in every matter for all mankind. It is not the word of a prophet enlightened by God ; ¹ but it proceeds immediately from God.

¹ Some Maulavís have contended that the Prophet was 'Álimu'l-Gḥaib, i.e. one who knows the secret world ; by which they mean that by his own power he had knowledge of the secret things which he revealed. To such an opinion the orthodox, who hold that the term 'Álimu'l-Gḥaib can be applied to God only, reply by quoting the verse : ' Say : I say not to you "In my possession are the treasures of God," neither say I "I know things secret," neither do I say to you "I am an angel," only what is revealed to me do I follow ' (vi. 50). Both Báidáwí and Ḥusain agree that this verse shows that the Prophet did not claim divine knowledge.

‘Were it from any other than God, they surely would have found in it many contradictions’ (iv. 84).¹ As a matter of fact there are words which come from a human source, such as, ‘when God said.’ [Súratu Áli ‘Imrán (iii. 48) ; Súratu’l-Má’ida (v, 15) and in some other places.] These are evidently the words of Muḥammad and not of God ; but the orthodox reply is that the word ‘say’ or ‘speak’ precedes, or is understood to precede, every sentence. This to a Muslim is the highest form of inspiration ; this alone stamps a book as divine. It is acknowledged that the Injíl—the Gospel—was given by Jesus ; but as that, too, according to Muslim belief, was brought down from heaven by the Angel Gabriel during the month of Ramaḍán, it is now asserted that it has been lost, and that the four Gospels of the New Testament are simply traditionary accounts of the acts and words of Jesus Christ, collected by the writers whose names they bear. Their value is, therefore, that of the second foundation of the Islámic system.

The question next arises as to the exact way in which Gabriel made known his message to Muḥammad. Though the Qur’án is believed to be all of God, both as to matter and form, yet it was not all made known to the Prophet in one and the same manner. The *Mudárijū’n-Nabuwat* (pp. 508-10), a standard theological work, gives some details

¹ This is said by Ḥusain to be a sign of its miraculous origin and its truth (*Tafsír-i-Ḥusaini*, i. 117). There are contradictions. Compare Súra i. 267 and iv. 91 ; iii. 60 Abraham a Muslim and vi. 14 Muḥammad the first one ; lxii. 4 and lxx. 4 and many others.

on this point. The following are some of the modes ¹:—

1. It is recorded on the authority of 'Áyisha, that a brightness like the brightness of the morning came upon the Prophet. In some strange way Gabriel, through this brightness or vision, made known the will of God.

2. Gabriel appeared in the form of Duḥayya,² one of the Companions of the Prophet, renowned for his beauty and gracefulness. At times the angelic nature of Gabriel overcame Muḥammad, who was then translated to the angelic world. This happened when the revelation was one of bad news, such as denunciations, or predictions of woe. When the message brought by Gabriel was one of consolation and comfort, the human nature of the Prophet overcame the angelic nature of the angel, who, in such case, having assumed a human form, proceeded to deliver the message.³

3. The Prophet heard at times the noise of the tinkling of a bell. He alone could distinguish it, and through it the words which Gabriel wished him

¹ Sir Syed Aḥmad Khán, the founder of the modern school of Indian Muslims, does not accept the objective view of waḥí. He says that the older commentators have not stated correctly the mode in which it came, and that they wrongly look upon God as the king and Muḥammad as the vizier, and Gabriel, in human form, as an ambassador bringing orders or messages from the one to the other. He deals at some length with the difficulties caused by such a view. See *Tafsir-ı-Aḥmadiyya*, Part I, iv. 26-7.

² All the commentators bring this incident forward as an illustration of the verse: 'And if We had appointed an angel, We should certainly have appointed one in the form of a man' (vi. 9).

³ Khadīja adopted a curious plan to discover the character of the angel and to test the genuineness of the revelation. See Ibn Hishám's account quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 6.

to understand. When his ear caught the sound his whole frame became agitated. On the coldest day, the perspiration, like beads of silver, would roll down his face. The glorious brightness of his countenance gave place to a ghastly hue, whilst the way in which he bent down his head showed the intensity of the emotion through which he was passing. If riding, the camel on which he sat would fall to the ground. There is an *athr*,¹ or saying of a Companion, to the following effect : ‘ Zaid bin *Thábit*, a Companion, said, “ One day when God sent *waḥí* on the Prophet, his thigh was on mine, but it became so heavy that I feared mine would be broken.” ’²

4 At the time of the *mi‘rāj*, or night ascent into heaven, God spoke to the Prophet without the intervention of an angel. It is a disputed point whether the face of the Lord was veiled or not.

5. God sometimes appeared in a dream and, placing His hands on the Prophet’s shoulders, made known His will.

6. Twice angels having each six hundred wings appeared and brought the message from God.

7. Gabriel, though not appearing in bodily form, and, without delivering a verbal message as in *waḥí*, so inspired the heart of the Prophet that the words he uttered under this influence were divine. This is technically called *ilqá’*, and is by some supposed to be the degree of inspiration to which the Traditions belong.

¹ An *athr* is of less authority than a *Ḥadīth* or Tradition, though it more nearly answers to the meaning of our word tradition.

² *Ṣaḥīḥu’l-Bukhārī*, *Kitābu’l-Ṣalāt*, i. 103.

If, by any chance, the Prophet had made a wrong deduction from any previous revelation, another was always sent to rectify it. This idea has been worked up to a science of abrogation, according to which some verses of the Qur'án abrogate others. Muḥammad found it necessary to change his standpoint more than once, and thus it became necessary to annul earlier portions of his revelation.

Thus in various ways was the revelation¹ made known to Muḥammad. At first there seems to have been a season of doubt; the dread lest, after all, it might be a mockery. But as years rolled on confidence in himself and in his mission came. At times, too, there is a joyousness in his utterances as he swears by heaven and earth, by God and man; but more often the visions were weird and terrible. At the moment of inspiration anxiety pressed upon the Prophet, and his countenance was troubled. Large drops of perspiration gathered on his forehead. Some strange power moved him, his fear was uncontrollable. Muḥammad ascribed his grey hairs to the terror caused him by the revelation of the 'terrific Súras' (Suúru'n-nadhíra). These were said to be the Súratu Húd (xi) and its sisters, the Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) and the Súratu'l-Qári'a (ci). Thus for twenty years or more the revelations came, a direction on things of heaven and of earth, to the Prophet as the spiritual guide of all men,² to the Warrior-Chief, as the founder of political unity among the Arab tribes.

¹ For various views as to Muḥammad's mental condition when the earlier revelations were made, see Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad* (C.L.S.), pp. 35-40.

² 'It (the Qur'án) is simply an instruction for all mankind' (xii. 104).

A Muḥammadan student, after passing through a course of instruction in grammar, rhetoric, logic, law and dogmatics, at length reaches the stage when he is permitted to enter upon the study of 'Ilmu'l-uṣūl, or the exegesis of the Qur'án and the inspired sayings of the Prophet. This done, he can henceforth read the approved commentaries in order to learn what the Fathers of Islám have to say. This study in a way fits him to be a commentator, for the work of a Muslim divine now is, not to bring things 'new and old' out of the sacred book, but to hand down to others the things old.

The greatest proficient in theology is the man who can repeat the Qur'án by heart, who knows also and can reproduce at will what the early commentators have said; who can remember, and quote in the most apposite manner, the Prophet's sayings preserved in the Traditions handed down by the Companions, their followers, and their followers' followers; who can point out a flaw in the isnád (i.e. chain of narrators) of a Tradition quoted by an opponent, or maintain, by repeating the long list of names, the authority of the isnád of the Tradition he quotes himself. A good memory, not critical acumen, is the great desideratum in a Muslim theologian. The chief qualification of a Ḥáfiẓ, a man who can repeat the whole Qur'án by heart, is that he shall be able to pronounce each word correctly. By men who are not Arabs by birth this is only to be attained after years of practice from childhood. In the early days of Islám, the great authorities on the question of the correct pronunciation of the Qur'án were the Khalífas Abú Bakr, 'Umar,

'Uthmán, and 'Alí, and some of the Companions,' who learned from the Prophet himself the exact way in which Gabriel had spoken. The Arabic of heaven was the Arabic of Islám.

The effort, however, to preserve one uniform method of repeating the Qur'án failed. Men of other lands could not acquire the pure intonation of Mecca, and so no less than seven different ways of reading the sacred book became current. Abú ibn Ka'b, one of the Companions, had become so famous as a reader that the Prophet himself said, 'Read the Qur'án under Abú ibn Ka'b.' Men remembered that Abú ibn Ka'b had stated that one day, when scandalized at man after man who entered the mosque repeating the Qur'án in different ways, he spoke to Muḥammad about it. His Highness said: 'O Abú ibn Ka'b! intelligence was sent to me to read the Qur'án in one dialect, and I was attentive to the Court of God, and said: "Make easy the reading of the Qur'án to my sects." These instructions were sent to me a second time, saying, "Read the Qur'án in two dialects." Then I turned myself to the Court of God, saying, "Make easy the reading of the Qur'án to my sects." Then a voice was sent to me the third time, saying, "Read the Qur'án in seven dialects." '

There is a Tradition to the effect that 'Umar said: 'During the lifetime of the Prophet I heard a man read a chapter of the Qur'án. I heard the

¹ The ones highly commended by Muḥammad, were two of the Muhájirín or Refugees—'Abdu'lláh bin Mas'úd, and Sálím bin Ma'qal; and two of the Anṣár, or Helpers—Mu'ádh bin Jabal and Uba'i ibn Ka'b. These and others transmitted the knowledge of the Qur'án to the Tábi'un, or Followers. *Itqán*, i. 88.

“readings,” which he followed, and as they were different from those I knew and which I had heard from the mouth of the Prophet, I feared the namáz would be spoiled. At the close of the prayers, I was angry with him and struck him a blow, and demanded to know where he had heard these “readings.” He declared that he had heard them from Muḥammad himself. We then went to the Prophet in order to settle the dispute. He told us that the “readings” were correct and added: “In truth, the Qur’án is revealed in seven dialects, read it in as many ways as you like.”’¹

This removed all difficulty, and the foresight displayed by the Prophet in thus obtaining a divine sanction for the various ways of reading was looked upon as a proof of his inspiration. Thus arose the qirá’átu’s-sab’a, or seven readings of the Qur’án, now recognized.

In the Qur’án compiled by the order of the Khalífa ‘Uthmán there were no vowel-points, but when men of other countries embraced Islám they found a difficulty in mastering Arabic. Khalíd bin Aḥmad, a great grammarian, then invented the short vowels and other diacritical marks. The seven famous Readers (Qáris), whose names have been given to the various modes of reading, are ‘Imám Náfi’ of Madína, Imám ibn Kathír of Mecca, Imám Abú ‘Umar of Baṣra, Imám Ḥamza of Kúfa, Imám ibn ‘Ámir of Syria, Imám ‘Áṣim of Kúfa, Imám Kisá’i of Kúfa. These learned men affixed different

¹ Quoted in *Journal Asiatique* Décembre, 1843, p. 378. The story is given in a somewhat different form by Bukhárí in *Faiḍu’l-Bárr* (Lahore, ed. A.H. 1318), xx. 218.

vowel-points in many places in the Qur'án, and thus, in some cases, slight differences of meaning arose. In many passages, however, the sense is not at all affected. In India the qirá'at—reading—of Ḥaḥṣ, a disciple of Imám 'Áṣim, is followed by both Sunnis and Shí'ahs. Jalálu'd-dín, in his famous commentary, follows the qirá'at of Imám Abú 'Umar. Those who belong to the madhhab, or sect of Imám ash-Sháfi'í, also prefer this qirá'at. Imám 'Áṣim had two disciples. Their names are Abú Bakr and Ḥaḥṣ. They differ slightly between themselves, but the qirá'at of Ḥaḥṣ is the one in common use in India. The qirá'at of Náfi' is preferred in Arabia, and is highly valued by theological writers. Each of the seven Qárís or Readers had two disciples, called Ráwís, or narrators, from whose testimony the qirá'at approved by their master is known. They never give an opinion of their own on the text, but simply record that of their master.¹

There are three readings of lesser note allowable when reading the Qur'án privately, but not when reading any part in a liturgical service. During the month of Ramaḍán the Qur'án is repeated every night in the mosque, it being so arranged that a juz, a thirtieth part, shall be recited each night. The Imám of the mosque, or the public reader who commences according to one of the seven recognized readings, must keep to the same all the month. A good Ḥáfiẓ will know the whole seven varieties. The various readings thus introduced, though

¹ Their names are given in Sell, *'Ilmu't-Tajwid* (C.L.S.)

unimportant in their nature,¹ amount to about five hundred in number. The following are a few illustrations: In the second Súra, Abú 'Umar reads: 'Nor shall ye be questioned concerning that which *they* have done;' but 'Áṣim reads: 'That which *ye* have done.' Again, 'Áṣim reads: '*Enter ye* the gates of hell' (xxxix. 72); but Náfi' reads: '*Ye will be made to enter* hell,' that is, by a slight change, the passive is substituted for the active voice. These are fair samples of the rest. No doctrine, so far as I know, is touched, but the way in which Tradition records the Prophet's anticipation of the difficulty is instructive to the student of Islám. At times, too, fierce disputes have arisen between the followers of the seven famous Readers, whose names I have given above. In the year A.H. 323, Ibn Shanabud, a resident of Baghdád, ventured to introduce some different readings in his recital of the Qur'án. The people of Baghdád, not knowing these, were furious, and the Khalífa was compelled to cast the offender into prison. A council of divines was called together, before whom the unhappy Ibn Shanabud was produced. For a while he maintained the correctness of his 'readings,' but after being whipped seven times he said: 'I renounce my manner of reading, and in future I shall follow no other than that of the manuscript drawn up by the Khalífa 'Uthmán, and that which is generally received.'²

When the first copy of the Qur'án was written

¹ The opinion of Von Hammer, quoted by Sir W. Muir in his *Life of Muḥomet* (i. 27), seems to be correct: 'We may hold the Qur'án to be as surely Muḥammad's words as the Muḥammadans hold it to be the word of God.'

² Ibn Khallikán, iii. 16.

and presented to the Khalífa 'Uthmán, he said: 'There are faults of language in it; let the Arabs of the desert rectify them with their tongues.'¹ The meaning of this order is that they were to learn to pronounce the words properly, but on no account to alter the writing or form in which the words were spelt. This accounts for the peculiar spelling of many words in the Qur'án. In fact, there are special rules laid down for guidance of the copyist. They are technically known as the *rasmu'l-khaṭṭ*, or rules for writing.²

As Islám spread, it became necessary to expound the Qur'án to persons unacquainted with Arabic. The science of grammar then became an important branch of study, and the collection of Traditions a necessary duty. The Faithful were for a long time in doubt as to the lawfulness of applying the laws of grammar to so sacred a book. There was no command in the book itself to do so, nor had the Prophet given any directions on this point. It was, then, neither *fard*, nor *sunna*—that is, neither a command based on the Qur'án nor on based on any saying or act of the Prophet. The Traditions, however, solve the difficulty.

Al-Ma'mún, the most famous, although heretical Khalífa of Baghdád, was a patron of al-Farra, the chief of grammarians. A distinguished pupil of his, Abú'l-'Abbás Tálíb, on his death-bed expressed his belief in the fact that the Qur'ánists, the Traditionists, and others had gained their heavenly reward; but he had been only a grammarian, and

¹ Ibn Khallikán, ii. 401.

² The rules are given in Sell, '*Ilmu't-tajwid* (C.I.S.)

grammar after all was, in connexion with the Qur'án, a science of doubtful legality. The friend to whom he told his doubts and fears went home and saw a vision that very night. He saw the blessed Prophet, who said to him, 'Give my greeting to Abú'l-'Abbás Tálíb, and say, "Thou art master of the superior science." ' The Prophet had now spoken, and henceforth grammar became a lawful study in Islám. Muslims now quote the Qur'án as a perfect model of style; it may be well to remember that the rules have been made for it, and that therefore it is but natural that it should be perfect according to the present canons of Arabic grammar.

Towards the end of Muḥammad's stay at Mecca, this challenge is made to the doubtful, 'If they shall say, "The Qur'án is his own device," then bring ten Súras like it of your own devising' (xi. 16). At Madína the challenge is repeated, 'If ye be in doubt as to that which we have sent down to Our servant, then produce a Súra like it' (ii. 21). Muḥammadans say that this challenge has never been taken up, and that no Arab then, nor since, has produced anything equal to it; but the claim is overstated, for the challenge was not merely to produce something equal to the Qur'án in style, but also with regard to its subject-matter—the Unity of God, future retribution and other doctrinal matters. Now, from the nature of the case, it was impossible for the opponents of Muḥammad to do this. They could not, with sincerity defend the Unity of God, for they were pagans, and if they had done so, they could only have copied what he had said and a copy falls short of the power of the original. He, in

fact, had already occupied the ground. Palmer says: 'That the best of Arab writers has not succeeded in producing anything equal in merit to the Qur'án is not surprising. They have agreed beforehand that it is unapproachable and they have adopted its style as the perfect standard. Grammarians, lexicographers and rhetoricians started with the presumption that the Qur'án could not be wrong, and other works, therefore, only approached excellence, in proportion as they, more or less, successfully imitated the style.'¹

It is said that the Qur'án was brought from Paradise by Gabriel to Muḥammad as occasion required. The Prophet was reproached for not having a complete revelation, and answered the reproach by the following verse, sent for the purpose: 'The infidels say, "Unless the Qur'án be sent down to him all at once"—but in this way We establish thy heart in it; *in parcels have We parcelled it out to thee*' (xxv. 34). 'We have parcelled out the Qur'án into sections, that thou mightest recite it unto men by slow degrees, and We have sent it down piece-meal'²

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, vi. 55, 66

² 'Literally 'According to circumstances'—على حسب الأحوال — Baiḍāwī, i. 553.

There are many Traditions which refer to this fact. 'Umar Ibnu'l-Khaṭṭāb said 'I accorded with my cherisher (i.e. God) in three things. One is that I said, "O messenger of God! if we were to say our prayers in Abraham's place it would be better." Then a revelation came down, "Take the place of Abraham for a place of prayer." The second is that I said, "O messenger of God! good and bad people come to your house, and I do not see that it is fitting; therefore, if you order your women to be shut up it will be better." Then the revelation for doing so came down. The third is that his Majesty's wives were all agreed in a story about his drinking honey, and he had vowed never to drink it more. Then I said to his Majesty's wives, "Should the Prophet divorce you,

(xvii. 107). The revelation thus given is entirely objective ; it came to the ear of the Prophet through the teaching of Gabriel. ' Yet it is a glorious Qur'án, *written on the preserved Table* ' (lxxxv. 22). Baiḍáwí explains the verse, ' When We have *recited* it, then follow thou the *recital* ' (lxxv. 18) thus : that the order was given because the Prophet had tried to learn it by heart.¹ Bukhárí relates the following Tradition, ' When waḥí came upon him, he moved his tongue and lips, desiring to commit it to memory. Then God sent down the words, " Move not thy tongue that thou mayest hasten with it (i.e. remember it). Truly on Us is the collection and the recital " ' ² (lxxv. 16, 17). In other words, the Prophet was not to trouble about learning it by heart ; it would come to his mind when needed, according to the Tradition, ' We will collect it in thy heart when needed. ' ³ It may also indicate that he spoke automatically, like a person in a trance. ⁴ The external mode in which it came is referred to in the verse, ' We have *sent down* to thee an Arabic

God will give him better in exchange." Then a revelation came down ; agreeing with what I said.'

'Áyisha said : ' I was reflecting on those women who had given themselves to the Prophet, and said, " What ! does a woman give herself away ! " Then the revelation descended, " Thou mayest decline for the present whom thou wilt of them, and thou mayest take to thy bed her whom thou wilt, and whomsoever thou shalt long for of those thou shalt have before neglected : and this shall be no crime in thee " (xxxiii. 51). I said, " I see nothing in which your God doth not hasten to please you ; whatever you wish He doeth. " ' ¹

¹ ' God recited it by the tongue of Gabriel : recite it and repeat it till it remains in thy memory. ' Baiḍáwí on verse 18.

² Baiḍáwí says the collection is in the heart of the Prophet, and the recital in his tongue.

³ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhárí* on Súra lxxv, i. 6.

⁴ See Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islám*, p. 47.

Qur'án (xx. 112). The fragmentary way in which the Qur'án was given was not without its difficulties. Some passages contradicted others; some were difficult to understand. To the Prophet alone was the solution known. The knowledge he communicated to his immediate followers, the Companions, as they are called, thus: 'To thee have We sent down this book of monitions, that *thou mayest make clear to men* what hath been sent down to them' (xvi. 46).

Ibn Khaldún says: 'The Prophet unfolded the meaning, distinguished between abrogated and abrogating verses, and communicated this knowledge to his Companions. It was from his mouth that they knew the meaning of the verses and the circumstances which led to each distinct revelation being made.'¹ The Companions thus instructed became perfectly familiar with the whole revelation. This knowledge they handed down by word of mouth to their followers, the Tábi'ún, who in their turn passed it on to their followers, the Taba'u't-Tábi'in. The art of writing then became common. The business of the commentator henceforth was to collect together the sayings of the Companions thus handed down. Criticism of a passage in the Qur'án was not his duty, criticism of a comment made on it by a Companion was quite beyond his province: the first was too sacred to be touched, the second must be accepted if only the chain of narrators of the statement were perfect. Thus early in the

¹ Ibn Khaldún, ii. 459. Abú'l-Qásim says: 'One of the most noble branches of the sciences of the Qur'án is the knowledge of the manner, the occasion and the place of the revelation and the chronological order in which Súras were revealed at Mecca and Madína.' *Itqán* i. 10.

history of Islám were the principles of exegesis fixed and settled. Every word, every sentence, has now its place and class. The commentator has now only to reproduce what was written before,¹ though he may, in elucidation of the point, bring forth some Tradition hitherto unnoticed, which would, however, be a difficult thing to do. It will thus be seen that anything like the work of a Christian commentator, with all its fresh life and new ideas, is not to be had in Islám. The perfection of the Qur'anic exegesis is its dogmatic and antique nature :—

While as the world rolls on from age to age,
And realms of thought expand,
The letter stands without expanse or range,
Stiff as a dead man's hand.

The technical terms which the student must know, and the definitions of which he must understand, are those which relate to the nature of the words, the sentences, the use of the words of the Qur'án, and the deduction of arguments from passages in the book.

I. The words of the Qur'án are divided into four classes :—

1. Kháṣṣ, or special words, which establish absolute propositions.² These are subdivided into three classes. First, words which relate to genus,

¹ This includes even the orthography, for : 'The following generation, I mean the Tabis (Tabi'ún) adopted the orthography of the Companions of the Prophet and took credit to themselves for not discontinuing the forms adopted by those who, after Muḥammad were the most excellent of men and had received from him the revelations from heaven, either in writing or by word of mouth.' Ibn Khaldún, ii. 397.

² For illustrations see *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 80.

e.g. mankind. Second, words which relate to species, e.g. a man, which refers to men as distinguished from women. Third, words which relate to special individuality, e.g. Zaid, which is the name of a special individual.

2. 'Ámm, or common or collective names, such as people.

3. Mushtarak, or words which have several significations, as the Arabic word 'ain, which may mean an eye, a fountain, or the sun. Again, the word ṣalát, if connected with God, may mean mercy, as 'ṣalát Ulláh,' the mercy of God ; if with man, it may mean either namáz, a stated liturgical service, or du'a, prayer in its ordinary sense, e.g. ṣalátu'l-istisqá' (prayer in time of drought) is du'a, not namáz.

4. Muawwal, words which have several significations, all of which are possible, and so a special explanation is required. For example, 'Wherefore pray unto the Lord and *slay* (the victims)' (cviii. 2). The word translated 'slay' is in Arabic 'anhar,' from the root nahr, which has many meanings. The followers of the great legist Abú Ḥanífa render it sacrifice, and add the words 'the victims.' Baiḍáwí (ii. 419) apparently refers it to the sacrifice on the feast of 'Idu'd-Ḍuḥá. Ḥusain (ii. 476) says a camel should be sacrificed in honour of God, in opposition to idolaters who sacrifice to idols. The followers of Ibn Sháfi'í say it means 'placing the hands on the breast in prayer : ' an interpretation also given in the *Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí*.

The *Tafsír-i-Ibn 'Abbás* gives another illustration of muawwal in Súra xli. 6, where the phrase 'they

do not give alms ' is sometimes interpreted as meaning ' they do not say " there is no god but God. " ' Thus, the word *zakát* bears the double meaning of alms and of *kalima* or creed.

This illustrates the difference between *mushtarak* and *muawwal*. In the former, only one meaning is allowable, which meaning the context settles ; in the latter, both meanings are allowable, and both are right. Teachers of the *Qur'án* look upon these distinctions as important.

These divisions of words having been well mastered and the power of defining any word in the *Qur'án* gained, the student passes on to consider the nature of the sentences.

II. Sentences are divided into two great classes, the obvious and the hidden. This division is referred to in the following passage of the *Qur'án* : ' He it is who hath sent down to thee the book. Some of its signs are of themselves *perspicuous* ; these are the basis (literally " mother ") of the book, and others are *figurative*. But they whose hearts are given to err follow its figures, craving discord, craving an interpretation ; yet none know its interpretation, but God.¹ And the stable in knowledge say : " We believe in it, it is all from God " ' (iii. 5).

This has given rise to the division of the whole book into literal and allegorical statements. In

¹ This interpretation God made known to the Prophet, who communicated it to the Companions ; hence all orthodox opinion must be in strict accordance with theirs. They were the sole depositaries of the inspired commentary given by *Muhammad*. There is now no room for, as there is no need of, any other.

order to explain these correctly, the commentator must know (1) the reason why, (2) the place where, (3) the time when, the particular passage he is expounding was revealed ; he must know whether it abrogates or is abrogated, whether it is in its proper order and place or not ; whether it contains its meaning within itself or needs the light which the context throws upon it ; he must know all the Traditions which bear upon it, and the authority for each such Tradition. This effectually confines the order of commentators in the strict sense of the word to the Companions, and supplies the reason why commentators since then simply reproduce their opinions.¹

Sentences of the Qur'án are either *ẓāhir*—obvious, or *khafí*—hidden.

III. Obvious sentences are divided into four classes :—

1. *Ẓāhir*, or obvious, the meaning of which is so clear that he who hears it at once understands its meaning without seeking for any explanation. This kind of sentence may be abrogated. Unless abrogated, action in accordance with it is to be considered as the express command of God. All penal laws and the rules regulating the substitution of one religious act for another, e.g. almsgiving instead of fasting, must be based on this, the clearest of the obvious sentences.

2. *Naṣṣ*, a word commonly used for a text of the Qur'án, but in its technical meaning here expressing

¹ Speaking on this very subject Ibn Khaldún (ii. 460) says · ' Nothing could be known of all that, except through the expositions proceeding from the Companions and their disciples. '

what is meant by a sentence the meaning of which is made clear by some word which occurs in it. The following sentence illustrates both *zāhir* and *naṣṣ*: 'Of such other women who seem good in your eyes, marry but two, or three, or four' (iv. 3). This sentence is *zāhir*, because marriage is here declared lawful; it is *naṣṣ*, because the words 'or two, or three, or four,' which occur in the sentence, show the unlawfulness of having more than four wives.

3. *Mufassar*, or explained. This is a sentence which needs some word in it to explain it and make it clear. Thus: 'And the angels prostrated themselves, all of them with one accord, save Iblis (Satan)' (ii. 32). Here the words 'save Iblis' show that he did not prostrate himself. This kind of sentence may be set aside or abrogated.

4. *Muḥkam*, or perspicuous.¹ This is a sentence as to the meaning of which there can be no doubt, and which cannot be controverted, thus: 'God knoweth all things.' This kind of sentence cannot be abrogated. To act on such sentences without departing from the literal sense is the highest degree of obedience to God's command.²

The difference between these sentences is seen

¹ With the Shāfi'ites a verse is *muḥkam* when its sense is clear, i.e. when the reader is convinced that a certain sense and no other is intended: *mutashābih* when it is obscure. The Ḥanīfites hold that *muḥkam* is a text which has not been superseded; *mutashābih* one of which God reserves the meaning to Himself. Baiḍāwī frequently uses *muḥkam* in the sense of "not abrogated." Margoliouth, *Chrestomithia Baidawania*, p. 147.

² The verse, 'Fight against them till all strife be at one end, and the religion be all of its God's.' (viii. 40) is said to be a *muḥkam* sentence (*Khuldsatu't-Tafsīr*, ii. 183). This shows the continued religious obligation of the Jihād, or sacred war.

when there is a real or apparent contradiction between them. If such should occur, the first must give place to the second, and so on.¹ Thus muḥkam cannot be abrogated or changed by any of the preceding, or mufassar by naṣṣ or naṣṣ by ṣāḥir.

IV. The other great division of sentences is that of khafī, or hidden. These also are of four kinds :—

1. Khafī. Such are those sentences in which other persons or things are hidden beneath the plain meaning of a word or expression contained therein, as : ‘ As for a thief, whether male or female, cut ye off their hands in recompense for their doings ’ (v. 42). The word for thief is sarīq, and in this passage it is understood to include highwaymen, pickpockets and plunderers of the dead, etc. These meanings are khafī or hidden under it.

2. Mushkil, or ambiguous. ‘ The following is given as an illustration : ‘ Vessels of silver and goblets like bottles shall be borne round them : bottles of silver ’ (lxxvi. 15). The difficulty here is that bottles (qawārīr) are not made of silver, but of glass. The commentators say, however, that glass is dull in colour, though it has some lustre, whilst silver is white, and not so bright as glass.² Now it may be that the bottles of Paradise will be like glass as regards their lustre, and like silver as regards their colour. But anyhow, it is very difficult to ascertain the meaning.

3. Mujmal. These are, first, sentences which may have a variety of interpretations, owing to the

¹ See *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 91.

² Baiḍawī, ii. 378 : Kabīr, in *Khulāṣatu't-Tafsīr*, iv. 561.

words in them being capable of several meanings ; in that case the meaning which is given to the sentence in the Traditions relating to it should be acted on and accepted. Second, the sentence may contain some very rare word, and thus its meaning may be doubtful, as : ' Man truly is by creation hasty ' (lxx. 19). In this verse the word *halú'an*—hasty—occurs.¹ it is very rarely used, and had it not been for the following words, ' when evil toucheth him, he is full of complaint ; but when good befalleth him, he becometh niggardly,' its meaning would not have been at all easy to understand.

The following is an illustration of the first kind of *mujmal* sentences : ' Stand for prayer (*ṣalát*) and give alms ' (*zakát*) (lvii. 14). Both *ṣalát* and *zakát* are *mushtarak* words. The people, therefore, did not understand this verse, so they applied to Muḥammad for an explanation. He explained to them that *ṣalát* might mean the ritual of public prayer, standing to say the words ' God is great,' or standing to repeat a few verses of the Qur'án; or it might mean private prayer. The primitive meaning of *zakát* is growing. The Prophet, however, fixed the meaning here to that of almsgiving, and said ' Give of your substance one-fortieth part.' Another verse is, ' who rest upon clear proofs from their Lord ? To whom a witness from Him recited (the Qur'án), preceded by the book of Moses, and a guide and a mercy ' [*Súratu'l-Húd* (xi) 20]. Here the word ' who ' may mean Muḥammad, or believers ; and the word ' proofs ' may refer to true

¹ Baiḍáwí (ii. 357) says it means, ' Vehement in avarice, weak in patience ' — *هديد الحرص قليل الصبر*

religion, or sound wisdom, or the Qur'án ; the word ' witness ' may indicate Gabriel Muḥammad or 'Alí ; the word ' him ' may be God or Muḥammad.¹

4. Mutashábih. These are sentences so difficult that men cannot understand them, a fact referred to in Súra iii. 5, nor will they do so until the day of resurrection. The Prophet, however, knew their meaning. Such portions are the letters A, L, M ; A, L, R ; Y, A, at the commencement of some of the Súras.² Such expressions also as ' God's hand,' ' The face of God,' ' God sitteth,' etc., come under this category. The Tábi' Mujáhid says : ' The verses which speak of things lawful and unlawful (i.e. give orders and prohibitions) are muḥkam, all others are mutashábih.'³

V. The next point to be considered is the use (isti'mál) of words in the Qur'án, and here again the same symmetrical division into four classes is found, namely :—

1. Ḥaqíqat, that is, words which are used in their literal meaning, as rukú', a prostration, and salát in the sense of prayer.

¹ *Khulāṣatu't-Tafsír* (ii. 383) ; see also Baiḍáwí, i. 431.

² Ibn Khaldún (iii. 69) says that Zamakhshari remarked on these letters as follows : ' They indicate that the style of the Qur'án is carried to such a degree of excellence, that it defies every attempt to imitate it ; for this book which has been sent down to us from heaven is composed of letters. All men know them all alike, but this power disappears when, in order to express their ideas, they want to use these same letters combined.'

On this curious passage Baron de Slane remarks that the author is not very clear, and that the Turkish translator of Ibn Khaldún gives the sense of the passage as : ' God has placed these letters in several Súras as a sort of defiance ; as if He had said : " Here are the elements of which the Qur'án is composed ; take them and make a book equal to it in style." '

³ *Ṣaḥíhu'l-Bukhārí*, Tafsír on Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán, iii. 212.

2. *Majāz*, or words which are used in a figurative sense, as 'ṣalāt' in the sense of *namāz*, a liturgical service.

3. *Ṣarīḥ*, or words the meaning of which is quite evident, as 'Thou art divorced,' 'Thou art free.'

4. *Kinayāh*, or words which, used in a metaphorical sense, require the aid of the context to make their meaning clear, as 'Thou art separated,' which may, as it stands alone, mean 'Thou art divorced.' This class also includes all pronouns the meaning of which is only to be known from the context, e.g. one day the Prophet not knowing who knocked at his door said, 'Who art thou?' The man replied, 'It is I.' Muḥammad answered, 'Why dost thou say I, I? Say thy name, that I may know who thou art.' The pronoun I is here *kinayāh*.¹

VI. The most important and most difficult branch of exegesis is *istidlāl*, or the science of deducing arguments from the Qur'ān. This too is divided into four sections as follows :—

1. *Ibārat*, or the plain sentence. 'Mothers, after they are divorced, shall give suck unto their children two full years, and the father shall be obliged to maintain them and clothe them according to that which is reasonable' (ii. 233). From this verse two deductions are made. First, from the fact that the word 'them' is in the feminine plural, it must refer to the mothers, and not to the children; second, as the duty of supporting the mother is incumbent on the father, it shows that the relationship of the child is closer with the father than with

¹ On the rules for interpretation of words and sentences, see a valuable statement in *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 78-104.

the mother. Penal laws may be based on a deduction of this kind.

2. *Ishárat*, that is, a sign or hint which may be given from the order in which the words are placed.

3. *Dalálat*, or the argument which may be deduced from the use of some special word in the verse, as : 'Say not to them (your parents) uff (fie), (xvii. 24). From the use of the word uff, it is argued that children may not beat or abuse their parents. Thus *Baidáwí* (i. 536) says : 'This prohibition proves the further prohibition of all kinds of trouble which children could give.' Penal laws may now be based on *dalálat*, thus : 'Their aim will be to abet disorder on the earth; but God loveth not the abettors of disorder' (v. 69). The word translated 'aim' is in Arabic literally *yas'auna*, 'they run.' From this the argument is deduced that as highway-men wander about, they are included amongst those whom 'God loveth not,' and that therefore the severest punishment may be given to them, for any deduction that comes under the head of *dalálat* is a sufficient basis for the formation of the strictest penal laws.

4. *Iqtidá*. This is a deduction which demands certain conditions : 'Whosoever killeth a believer by mischance, shall be bound to free a believer from slavery' (iv. 94). As a man has no authority to free his neighbour's slave, the condition here required, though not expressed, is that the slave should be his own property.

VII. The divisions of the *Qur'án* are :—

1. *Ḥurúf* (singular *ḥarf*), letters. In one standard book it is said that there are 338,606 letters,

including the Bismilláhs. The last letters of each Súra are collectively called fawásil by the Qáris, and each letter of the alphabet thus occurs, except ghain, khai, and waw. The variety in the number of letters is thus explained: 'Some letters are written but not read, as aliph in qúmúa and in aulik, and some are read but not written, as waw Dáwud, which is always written Dá'úd. This, and the rules of the rasmu'l-khaṭṭ, which are not always observed, account for the variety in the enumeration.'¹

2. Kalimát (singular Kalimah), words. These are said by some authorities to amount to 79,087, by others to 77,934; but some persons count compound words as one word, some as two; some reckon the article Al as a word, others do not; in the same way prepositions joined with another word, such as fímá (fí má), sometimes count for one word instead of two.

3. Áyát (singular áyat), verses. Áyat really means a sign, and was the name given by Muḥammad to short sections or verses of the Qur'án. The end of a verse is determined by the position of a small circle. The early Qur'án Readers did not agree as to the position of these circles, and so five different ways of arranging them have arisen. This accounts for the variation in the number of verses in different editions. The varieties are:—

Kúfa verses. The Readers in the city of Kúfa followed the custom of 'Alí, and reckon according to the qirá'at of the Qárí Imám 'Áṣim. Their way

¹ *Dawábṭu'l-Furqán* (ed. Madras, A.H. 1280), p. 44.

of reckoning is generally adopted in India. They reckon 6,239 verses.

Bašra verses. The Readers of Bašra follow 'Ášim ibn Ḥajjáj, a Companion. They reckon 6,304 verses.

Shámi verses. The Readers in Syria (Shám) followed 'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Umar, a Companion. They reckon 6,225 verses.

Mecca verses. According to this arrangement, based on a statement made by 'Abdu'lláh ibn Kathír, there are 6,219 verses.

Madína verses. This way of reading, according to the reckoning of Abú Ja'far Zaid ibn Qa'qá, contains 6,211 verses.

In the above enumerations the verse Bismilláh¹ (in the name of God) is not reckoned. It occurs one hundred and thirteen times in the Qur'án. The variety in the number of verses is thus accounted for : 'The Prophet, at first, paused at the close of each verse ; afterwards he omitted the pause at the end of some verses. Those, who at first heard him, count more verses than those who heard him at a later period. Again, a slight pause, merely to take breath, may have been misunderstood, and thought to be a pause completing the verse.'²

¹ The Bismilláh is prefixed to all the Súras of the Qur'án, except one. This formula was borrowed from the Jews and the Šábians. The latter introduced their writings with the words, 'Ba nám-i-Yazdán bakhsha-ishgar dadár,' i e. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Just. Wherry, *Comprehensive Commentary of the Qur'án*, i. 289.

Rodwell says the Bismilláh is of Jewish origin and was, in the first instance, taught to the Quraish by Umayyah of Tá'if the poet, who was contemporary with, though somewhat older than Muḥammad. *Qur'án*, p. 1, note 2.

² *Dawábīṭu'l-Furqán* (ed. A.H. 1280), p. 52.

The diversity of punctuation does not generally affect the meaning of any important passage.¹ In *Súratu'n-Naml* an account is given of the Queen of Sheba's receiving a letter from King Solomon. Addressing her nobles she said : ' Verily kings, when they enter a city (by force) waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants hereof: and so will (these) do (with us)' (xxvii. 34). Many Qárís put the full stop after the word ' hereof,' and say that God is the speaker of the words ' and so will they do.'

4. *Súra*, or chapter. This word means a row or series, such as a line of bricks arranged in a wall, but it is now exclusively used for chapters in the *Qur'án*, one hundred and fourteen in number. The *Súras* are not numbered in the original Arabic, but each one has some approximate name (as *al-Baqara*, the cow, *an-Nisá'*, the women), generally taken from some expression which occurs in it. They are not arranged in chronological order, but according to their length. As a general rule, the shorter *Súras*, which contain the theology of Islám, belong to the Meccan period of the Prophet's career,² and the longer ones, relating chiefly to social duties and relationships, to the organization of Islám as a civil

¹ The fifth verse of the third *Súra* is an important exception. The position of the circle, the symbol denoting a full stop, in that verse is of the highest importance in connection with the rise of scholasticism ('*ilmu'l-kalám*) in Islám.

² The last verse revealed at Mecca was, ' This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have filled up the measure of my favours upon you ; and it is my pleasure that Islám be your religion ; but whoso without wilful leanings to wrong shall be forced by hunger to transgress, to him, verily, will God be indulgent, merciful ' (v. 5). Ibn *Khaldún*. i. 206.

polity, to the time when he was consolidating his power at Madína. The attempt to arrange the Súras in due order is a very difficult one, and, after all, can only be approximately correct. When thus rearranged the book becomes more intelligible.¹ The chief tests for such rearrangement are the style and the matter. There is a very distinct difference in both of these respects between the earlier and later Súras. The references to historical events sometimes give a clue ; but the help from external sources is very limited. Individual Súras are often very composite in their character, but, such as they are, they have been from the beginning. The recension made by Zaid in the reign of the Khalifa 'Uthmán has been handed down unaltered in its form.

The ordinary arrangement makes it very difficult to follow the working of the Prophet's mind. In Rodwell's translation the first ninety Súras are Mecca, and the last twenty-two Madína ones. The Mecca Súras are divided into three parts. The first forty-eight were delivered during the first four years of the Prophet's mission ; then twenty-one more during the fifth and sixth years, and again twenty-one more before the flight to Madína. The Hebrew legends and references to the Old Testament are mostly found in the second and third of these periods. The first Súras are the most eloquent and rhetorical, and contain passages of great beauty. The Prophet deals there with a simple theology, emphasizes the doctrine of the Unity of God, illustrates H's power, and declares that His justice will

¹ See Sell, *The Historical Development of the Qur'an*.

be seen at the day of reckoning. The ritual is not elaborated. The social system and the laws of Islám are not as yet fixed in their rigidity. The *Madína Súras* are different. The fervid eloquence of the preacher is absent, and the dictates of the practical administrator take its place. He deals now with questions of social life, domestic details, peace and war. This may be called by contrast the legal section of the *Qur'án*. There is, however, comparatively little of definite legislation in the book.

The *Súratu'l-Fátiḥa*, the first chapter of the *Qur'án*, raises a difficulty. As the present *Qur'án* is believed to be an exact copy of the one in heaven and to contain the very words of God throughout, how is it that we have in this *Súra* a prayer for divine guidance, which clearly shows the human origin of the words? The commentators say that God enunciated it in this form in order to teach men how to pray, and the direction 'say' must be understood before the words, 'Direct us in the right way.' It would be much more natural to suppose that it expresses the aspiration of Muḥammad at the outset of his career than that it was written down in heaven before the world came into existence. But until Muslims accept a rational view of inspiration, an explanation so reasonable and so appreciative of a reformer's humility must be set aside as heterodox.

5. *Sípára*, a thirtieth portion. This is a Persian word derived from *sí*, thirty, and *pára*, a portion. The Arabs call each of these divisions a *juz*. Owing to this division, a pious man can recite the

whole Qur'án in a month, taking one súpára each day. Musalmáns never quote the Qur'án as we do by Súra and áyat, but by the súpára and rukú', terms I now proceed to explain.

6. Rukú' (plural rukú'át). This word literally means a prostration made by a worshipper in the act of saying the prayers. The collection of verses recited from the Qur'án, ascriptions of praise offered to God, and various ritual acts connected with these, constitute one act of worship called a rak'at.¹ After reciting some verses in this form of prayer, the worshipper makes a rukú', or prostration; the portion of the Qur'án then recited takes the name of rukú'. Tradition states that the Khalífa 'Uthmán, when reciting the Qur'án during the month of Ramaḍán, used to make twenty rak'ats each evening. In each rak'at he introduced different verses of the Qur'án, beginning with the first chapter and going steadily on. In this way he recited about two hundred verses each evening, that is, about ten verses in each rak'at. Since then it has been the custom to recite the Qur'án in this way in Ramaḍán, and also to quote it by the rukú', e.g. 'such a passage is in such a súpára and in such a rukú'.'

7. The other divisions are not important. They are, a Thumn, Ruba', Nisf, Thulth, that is, one-eighth, one-fourth, one-half, one-third of a súpára respectively.

In reciting the Qur'án the worshipper must be careful in certain places to say the takbír, 'God is great,' after the several appointed places. Such a

¹ A full account of the ritual will be found in Chapter V under ṣalát.

one is after the recital of the Súratu'd-Ḍuḥá (xciii). The custom arose in this way. The Hypocrites¹ came to the Prophet and asked him to recite the story of the 'Seven Sleepers.' He said, 'I will tell you to-morrow,' but he forgot to add the words, 'if God will.' By way of warning, God allowed no inspiration to descend upon him for some days. Then the Hypocrites began to laugh and say, 'God has left him.' As it was not God's purpose to put His messenger to ridicule, Súratu'd-Ḍuḥá (xciii) was immediately brought by the ever-ready Gabriel. It begins : 'By the brightness of the morning, and by the night when it groweth dark, *thy Lord hath not forsaken thee*, neither doth He hate thee.' On account of this signal interposition of Providence on his behalf, the Prophet always concluded the recital of this Súra with these words, 'God is great.' The practice thus became a Sunna obligation. A Tradition states that the Prophet said, 'The takbír should be recited after every Súra which follows the Súratu'd-Ḍuḥá (xciii).' The *Tafsíru'l-Jalálain* confirms this. Other authorities say that the takbír should be said after eleven others only, namely, the Súras 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 109, 110, 112, and that after all the others the words 'Lá iláha illá'lláhu' should be said.

In reciting the Qur'án, the person so doing must carefully observe all the rules and regulations concerning it. The correct recital is called *tiláwat* ; but before a person can do this properly, he must

¹ These were some of the early converts at Madína, who were not very loyal to the Prophet. They were called the *Munáfíqún*, or Hypocrites, and are denounced in Súra lxiii. 1, 2, 7, 8.

have some acquaintance with the science called 'ilmu't-tajwid. It includes a knowledge of the peculiar spelling of words in the Qur'án, of its various readings, of the takbirs and responses at the close of certain appointed passages, of its various divisions, punctuation, and marginal instructions, of a correct pronunciation and intonation.¹

The doctrine of abrogation is a very important one in connexion with the study of the Qur'án. Some commentators say that the opening verses of the 77th Súra refer to this : 'By the train of the sent ones, and the swift ones in their swiftness, by the scatterers who scatter, and the distinguishers who distinguish, and by those who give forth the word to excuse or warn.' The 'swift ones' are said to be angels sent forth with verses of the Qur'án, 'scattering or dispersing previous revelations, distinguishing between good and evil.'² It is also referred to in the verses : 'When We change one verse for another, and God knoweth the best which He revealeth' (xvi. 103) ; 'Whatever verses' We

¹ For further details on this subject see Sell, *'Ilmu't-Tajwid* (C.L.S.)

² *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, ii, 442.

³ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan says that the word verses here does not mean a verse of the Qur'án, but laws and rules in preceding books, and the law given by former prophets, such as the sabbath, praying to the east and west and so on. This contradicts a statement in his *Commentary on the Holy Bible* (vol. 1, p. 263) when he states that it is a mistake to hold that one law repeals another. Here, however, he repudiates the orthodox view of abrogation which he declares to be false and without any foundation. He considers that the theologians (Fuqahá) are all wrong in accepting the dogma of abrogation, and that such an idea is opposed to the glory of God and the respect due to the Qur'án. (See *Taṣḍīf-i Aḥmadīyya*, Part I, v. 162-9.) But the fact remains that there are changes in the Qur'án. His explanation of these obvious difference is forced, unconvincing and opposed to the views of the great commentators.

cancel or cause thee to forget, We give thee better in their stead, or the like thereof. Knowest thou not that God hath power over all things' (ii. 100). This last verse occurs in a Madína Súra. Again, 'What He pleaseth will God abrogate or confirm; for with Him is the source of revelation' ¹ (xiii. 39). 'Whatever verses we cancel, or cause there to forget, we bring a better or its like' (ii. 100). Here it is said that the cancelling verse must be more excellent than the cancelled one. There is a Tradition also, which says: 'Excellence appertains to that which takes precedence.'² Some verses which were cancelled in the Prophet's lifetime are not now extant. 'Abdu'lláh ibn Masúd states that the Prophet one day recited a verse, which he immediately wrote down. The next morning he found it had vanished from the material on which it had been written. Astonished at this, he acquainted Muḥammad with the fact, and was informed that the verse in question had been revoked. There are, however, many verses still in the Qur'án which have been abrogated. It was an exceedingly convenient doctrine, and one needed to explain the change of front which Muḥammad made at different periods of his career. Certain rules have been laid down to regulate the practice. The verse which abrogates is called násikh, and the abrogated verse mansúkh. Mansúkh verses are of three kinds—first, where the words and the sense have both been abrogated; second, where the letter only is abro-

¹ That is, the Lauḥu'l-Maḥfúz. Baiḍáwí, i. 484.

² Al-faḍlu li'l-mutaqaddimi—*Crusaders of the Twentieth Century*, p. 163

gated and the sense remains; third, where the sense is abrogated though the letter remains.¹ Imám Málík gives as an instance of the first kind the verse—‘If a son of Adam had two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; and if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth. Neither shall the belly of a son of Adam be filled, but with dust. God will turn unto him who shall repent.’ The Imám states that originally this verse was in the Súratu’t-Tauba (ix). The verse called the ‘verse of stoning’ (Áyatu’r-Rajm) is an illustration of the second kind. It reads: ‘Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a punishment ordained by God; for God is mighty and wise.’ The Khalífa ‘Umar says this verse was extant in Muḥammad’s lifetime, but that it is now lost.²

Authorities differ as to the number of verses abrogated,³ some saying that they are two hundred and twenty-five. The principal ones are not many in number, and are very generally agreed upon.⁴ I give a few examples. It is a fact worthy of notice that they occur chiefly, if not almost entirely, in Súras delivered at Madína. There is a verse which

¹ Sir Syed Aḥmad Khán to his own satisfaction disposes of adverse criticism by characterizing these divisions as fanciful and false, *Tafsir-i-Aḥmadiyya*, p. 165.

² Muír, *Life of Mahomet*, i. xxv. For a full discussion about this verse, see Gairdner, *The Verse of Stoning* (C.L.S.)

³ It was the opinion of Imám ash-Sháfi‘í that a verse in the Qur‘án could only be abrogated by another verse and not by a Tradition. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 77.

⁴ Some examples from the *Itqán* of Jalálu’d-din are given in Hughes’ *Dictionary of Islám*, p. 520.

has given much trouble to the commentators. It is, 'Verily they who believe (Muslims) and they who follow the Jewish religion and the Christian and the Šábians—whoever of these believeth¹ in God and the last day, and doeth that which is right shall have their reward with their Lord : fear shall not come upon them, nor shall they be grieved' (xi. 59). This verse is abrogated by the verse, 'Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám it shall not be accepted of him, and in the next world he shall be of those who perish' (iii. 79). In the *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír* (i. 271) it is said of this latter verse that 'it abrogates all past religions and all which may arise in the future.' Baiḍáwí says that the text 'denies the acceptability of any religion which differs from it' (i. 164). At Madína, where Muḥammad had to confront Jews and Christians, he tried at first to win them over to his side, and then, when he found them obstinate, the doctrine of abrogation came in conveniently. This is seen plainly in the following case. At Mecca Muḥammad and his followers did not stand facing any particular direction when at prayer. 'To God belongeth the east and west ; therefore whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God' (ii. 109). When Muḥammad arrived at Madína he entered into friendship with the Jews. The Qibla (sanctuary), towards which the worshippers now invariably turned at prayer, was Jerusalem. This went on for a while, but when Muḥam-

¹ Baiḍáwí says: 'whoever of these believeth' means: 'Those of the infidels who believe with pure belief and enter sincerely into Islám'--

من آمن من هؤلاء الكفرة إيماناً خالماً ودخل فى الاسلام دعواً صادقاً

mad claimed to be not merely a prophet for the Arabs, but the last and the greatest of all the prophets—when he asserted that Moses had foretold his advent, and that his revelations were the same as those contained in their own Scriptures—they utterly refused allegiance to him. In the first half of the second year of the Hijra the breach between them was complete. The later Sûras contain fierce denunciations of Jews and Christians, for there was then irreconcilable hostility: ‘O Believers! take not Jews or Christians as friends. They are but one another’s friends. If any one of you taketh them for his friends surely he is one of them’ (v. 56).¹ It was now time to reconcile the leaders of the Quraish tribe at Mecca.² So the verse quoted above was abrogated by this: ‘We have seen thee turning thy face towards heaven, but We will have thee turn to a Qibla which shall please thee. Turn then thy face toward the Holy Temple (of Mecca), and wherever ye be, turn your faces toward that part’ (ii. 139). The faithful were consoled by the assurance that though they had not done so hitherto, yet God would not let their faith be fruitless, ‘for unto man is God merciful, gracious.’

¹ For further comments on this verse see my *Historical Development of the Qur'an*, pp. 163, 217.

² ‘At first the Prophet said prayers towards Jerusalem for sixteen or seventeen months, and he was glad when Mecca became the Qibla. The first namâz said towards Mecca was the ṣalātu'l-‘aṣr, the afternoon prayer. One of those present went into another mosque and told the worshippers that the Prophet prayed toward Mecca. They then did the same. The Jews and Christians were displeased at this.’ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitābu'l-Imām, i. 18.

This change of the Qibla placed Islám in direct antagonism with Judaism and Christianity. It became a rival Faith possessed of an independent centre of existence. Thus Islám became isolated, and so the Muslim has become unable to move with the progress of the nations as the centuries pass by.

The doctrine of abrogation is brought in for a more personal matter in the following case : ' It is not permitted to thee to take other wives hereafter, nor to change thy present wives for other women, though their beauty charm thee, except slaves, whom thy right hand shall possess ' (xxxiii. 52). This is said by Baiḍáwí and other eminent Muslim divines to have been abrogated by a verse which, though placed before it in the arrangement of verses, was really delivered after it. The verse is : ' O Prophet, We allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the slaves which thy right hand possesseth out of the booty which God hath granted thee ; ¹ and the daughters of thy uncle, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy father's side and on thy mother's side, who have fled with thee (to Madína), and any other believing woman who hath given herself up to the Prophet ; if the Prophet desireth to wed her, it is a peculiar privilege for thee above the rest of the Faithful ' (xxxiii. 49).

¹ The sanction thus given to unlimited concubinage was a greater evil than the legal establishment of polygamy. It is sometimes urged in defence of concubinage that the ' social evil ' is less in Muslim lands than in other countries ; but ' concubinage does not materially differ from prostitution and whilst the latter is strictly forbidden by the dominant religion of Europe, concubinage is as directly permitted by Islám.' Lane, *Selections from the Qur'án*, p. xciii.

Again, the second verse of Súra lxxiii reads : 'Stand up all night, except a small portion of it, for prayer.' According to a Tradition handed down by 'Áyisha, the last verse of this Súra was revealed a year later. It makes the matter much easier. 'God measureth the night and the day ; He knoweth that ye cannot count its hours aright, and therefore turneth to you mercifully. *Recite then so much of the Qur'án as may be easy to you*' (lxxiii. 20).

In Súratu't-Táuba (ix) there is a verse which, according to the Ijmá', has now no force, though it has not been abrogated by another verse. The verse is : 'But alms are only to be given to the poor and the needy, and to those who collect them, and to those whose hearts are won to Islám' (ix. 60). The clause 'to those whose hearts are won to Islám,' is now cancelled, or has ceased to be operative.' Muḥammad, to gain the hearts of those who, lately enemies, had now become friends, and to confirm them in the Faith, gave them large presents from the spoils he took in war ; but when Islám spread and became strong, the Khalífa Abú Bakr abolished the gift, and the 'Ulamá then agreed that it was no longer required, and said that the Khalífa's order was sáqit, a term not so strong as mansúkh, which means abrogated.

The words 'Put up with what they say' (xx. 130) are, according to the commentators Jalálain and Ḥusain, abrogated by the verse called the Áyatu's-saif, or verse of the sword : 'Kill those

who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them' (ix. 5). The 'they' in the first verse refers to idolaters of Mecca, to whom for a while toleration was shown. When the power of the Muslims increased, the toleration ceased, and the 130th verse of Súra xx was abrogated accordingly.

Other verses abrogated relate to the Ramaḍān fast, jihād, retaliation and matters of social interest.

The doctrine of abrogation is now almost invariably applied by Musalmán controversialists to the Old and New Testaments, which they say are abrogated by the Qur'án. 'His (Muḥammad's) law is the abrogator of every other law.'¹ This is not, however, a legitimate use of the doctrine. According to the best and most ancient Muslim divines, abrogation refers entirely to the Qur'án and the Traditions, and even then is confined to commands and prohibitions. 'Those who imagine it to be part of the Muḥammadan creed that one law has totally repealed another, are utterly mistaken—we hold no such doctrine.'² In the *Tafsír-i-Maḡhirí* we find: 'Abrogation refers only to commands and prohibitions, not to facts or historical statements.'³ Promises (wa'da) and threatenings (wa'id) cannot be abrogated. Again, no verse of the Qur'án, or a Tradition can be abrogated unless the abrogating verse is distinctly opposed to it in meaning. If it is a verse of the Qur'án, we must have the authority of Muḥammad himself for the abrogation; if a Tradition, that of a Companion. Thus, the word of

¹ *Sharḥ-i-'Aqá'id-i-Jámi* (ed. Madras, A.H. 1269), p. 131.

² Sir Syed Aḥmad, *Commentary on the Holy Bible*, i. 268.

³ Maulavi Šafdar 'Alí, *Niyáz Nāma*, p. 250.

a commentator or a Mujtahid is not sufficient, unless there is a 'genuine Tradition' (ḥadīthu-ṣ-ṣaḥīḥ), to show the matter clearly. The question of the abrogation of any previous command depends on historical facts with regard to the abrogation, not on the mere opinion of a commentator. It cannot be shown that either Muḥammad or a Companion ever said that the Bible was abrogated.¹

Additions were occasionally made. Thus when it was revealed that those who stay at home were not before God as those who go forth to war, it was said, 'And what if they were blind?' The prophet asked for the shoulder-blade on which the verse was written. He then had a spasmodic convulsion. After his recovery he made Zaid add the words 'free from trouble.' So now the whole verse reads thus: 'Those believers who sit at home *free from trouble* (i.e. bodily infirmity), and those who do valiantly in the cause of God, with their substance and their persons, shall not be treated alike' (iv. 97).² Years after Zaid said, 'I fancy I see the words now on the shoulder-blade near a crack.'³

¹ In fact, the Qur'án is said to be 'confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their *safeguard*' (v. 52). If then, as some Muslims say, the Bible has been corrupted, the Qur'án has failed of its purpose, and has not been a 'safeguard.' The commentator Ḥusain interprets the term 'Muhaiminan,' translated 'safeguard,' as 'a guard over the books which protects them from change.' (*Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, i. 148.) The same interpretation is given in the *Khalāṣatu't-Tafásir*, i. 529. Baiḍáwí (i. 260) says: 'A guardian over all the books, preserving them from change and witnessing to their correctness and permanency.'

² Baiḍáwí, i. 225.

³ Syúṭí in the *Itqán* (ii. 32-7) lays down the rule that if there are two contradictory passages, one must abrogate the other, as 'it is impossible to admit that the Qur'án contradicts itself.' Quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 20.

In the days of the Khalīfa al-Ma'mūm the question of the eternal nature of the Qur'ān was fiercely debated. The Muslim freethinkers asserted that the Qur'ān was created, that revelation came to Muḥammad in a subjective mode, and that the language was his own. This brought the book within the reach of criticism. In the year A.H. 212 the Khalīfa issued a decree that all who held the Qur'ān to be uncreated were to be declared guilty of heresy. The arguments used on the orthodox side are : that both the words and their pronunciation are eternal ; that the attempt now to draw a distinction between the word as it exists in the divine mind and as it appears in the Qur'ān is highly dangerous. In vain do their opponents argue that if the Qur'ān is uncreated, two eternal beings are in existence. To this it is answered : ' This is the honourable Qur'ān, written in the preserved Tablet ' (lvi. 76). A Tradition is also adduced which states : ' God wrote the Torah (Law) with His own hand, and with His own hand He created Adam ; and also in the Qur'ān it is written, " And We wrote for him upon the tables a monition concerning every matter," in reference to the tables of the Law given to Moses.' If God did this for former prophets and their works, how much more, it is argued, should He not have done it for the last and greatest of the prophets and the noble Qur'ān ?

It is not easy to get a correct definition of the term ' the uncreated Qur'ān,'¹ but a Musalmān

¹ ' The orthodox Muslims maintain, if I may venture upon a definition of their belief, that the Qur'ān, the uncreated Logos, was from the beginning, co-eternal with the Deity, not of His essence in hypostatic union, but an inseparable quality of it, like His unity.' Major Jarrett in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 446, Fasciculus, iv. 318.

author puts it thus : ' The Word as it exists in the mind of God is kalámu'n-nafsí (spiritual word), some thing unwritten and eternal. It is acknowledged by the Ijmá'u'l-ummat (consent of the Faithful), the Traditions, and by other prophets that God speaks. The kalámu'n-nafsí then is eternal, but the actual words, style, and eloquence are created by God ; so also is the arrangement and the miraculous nature of the book.' ¹ This seems to be a reasonable account of the doctrine, though there are theologians who hold that the very words are eternal. The doctrine of abrogation clashes with this idea, but they meet the objection by their theory of absolute predestination. This accounts for all the circumstances which necessitated the abrogation, for the circumstances, as well as the abrogated verses, were determined on from all eternity.

Some passages in the Qur'án were suggested by men. Ibn Merdawīyya said : ' 'Umar used to have an opinion, and lo! a revelation came in accordance with the same.' Bukhārī said: ' 'Umar said: " O Apostle of God, that we might adopt the makám of Abraham, the Ka'ba, as a place of worship and a revelation came to that effect " ' (ii. 119). 'Umar suggested the seclusion of women and the verse came ' When ye would ask any gifts of his (Muḥammad) wives, ask it from behind a veil ' (xxxiii. 53). Other instances are given by Syúfí.²

¹ ' The Sunnís hold that as regards the kalámu'n-nafsí, the Qur'án is not created : but as regards the words which we read it is created '—

مذهب أهل السنة أن القرآن بمعنى الكلام النفسى ليس بمخلوق واما القرآن —Jowhara 68, 88 quoted by Klein, p. 9

² These are given by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 17.

This concludes the consideration of the exegesis of the Qur'án, a book difficult and uninteresting for a non-Muslim to read, but one which has engaged, and is still engaging, the earnest thoughts of many millions of the human race. Thousands of devout students in the great theological schools of Cairo, Stamboul, Central Asia, and India are now plodding through this very subject of which I have here been treating; soon will they go forth as teachers of the book they so much revere. How utterly unfit that training is to make them wise men or scholars in any true sense of the word, how calculated to render them proud, conceited, and scornful of other creeds, its rigid and exclusive character shows. Still, it is a marvellous book; for twelve hundred years and more it has helped to mould the faith, animate the courage, cheer the despondency of multitudes, whether dwellers in the wild uplands of Central Asia, in Hindustan, or on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Turanian and the Aryan, the Arab and the Negro, alike learn its sonorous sentences, day by day repeat its opening clauses, and pray in its words as their fathers prayed before them.

In the Qur'án thus revered there is a very close connexion between the religious and the social ordinances. Until Muslims modify their belief in its verbal inspiration and apply to its interpretation the principles of the higher criticism, there can be no sound progress and no real reform. On this point, Stanley Lane-Poole says: 'The theory of revelation would have to be modified. Muslims would have to give up their doctrine of syllabic inspiration of the Qur'án and exercise their moral sense in

distinguishing between the particular and the general, the temporary and the permanent; they would have to recognize that there was much in Muḥammad's teaching which, though useful at the time, is inapplicable to the present conditions of life; that his knowledge was often partial and sometimes at fault.'¹

The Traditions contain the record of all that Muḥammad did and said. A Muslim, to whatever sect he belongs, believes that the Prophet both spake, and acted under a divine influence.² The mode of this inspiration is different from that of the Qur'án. There the revelation was objective. In the Prophet's sayings recorded in the Traditions the inspiration is subjective. This belief places the Traditions in a place second only to the Qur'án; it makes them a true supplement to that book, and thus they not only throw light on its meaning, but themselves form the basis on which doctrines may be established. Thus there can be no true conception formed of Islám if the Traditions are not studied and taken into account.³

The first four Khalífas were called the Khulafá'u'r-Ráshidún, that is, those who could guide others aright. They had been friends and Companions of the Prophet, and the Faithful could

¹ *Selections from the Qur'án*, p. xlv.

² The authority for this statement is the verse, 'Verily, afterwards it shall be ours to make it clear to thee' (lxxv. 19) that is, the words of Muḥammad, given in the Traditions so far as they relate to the Qur'án are an inspired commentary on and an explanation of it.

³ Hákim says: 'If it were not for the great company of Traditionists (Muḥaddithún) the light of Islam would have been extinguished. Quoted by Klein, *The Religion of Islám*, p. 25

always appeal to them in cases of doubt. The Prophet had declared that Islám must be written in the hearts of men. There was therefore an unwillingness to commit his sayings to writing. As no argument was so effectual in a dispute as 'a saying' of the Prophet, the door was opened by which spurious Traditions could be palmed off on the Faithful.¹ To prevent this, a number of strict rules were framed, at the head of which stands the Prophet's saying, itself a Tradition: 'Convey to other persons none of my words except those which ye know of a surety. Verily, he who purposely represents my words wrongly will find a place for himself nowhere but in fire.' To enforce this rule, it was laid down that the relator of a Tradition must also repeat its 'isnád,' or chain of authorities, as: 'I heard from such an one, who heard from such an one,' and so on, until the chain reaches the Prophet himself. This is extremely mechanical. It has been well said: 'We feel constantly the necessity of working out our ideas for ourselves in one way or another; the doctrine must commend itself to us. Islám does not feel that, but is prepared to give full weight to what it has been taught. A pedigree legitimates a doctrine.'²

The following Tradition, taken from Imám Málik's treatise, the *Muwattá'*, affords a good

¹ 'During the first century of Islám the forging of Traditions became a recognized political and religious weapon, of which all parties availed themselves.' Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 145.

'So serious was this evil that 'Umar, the second *Khalifa*, discouraged and even stopped for some time the reporting of Traditions.' Sir 'Abdu'r-Rahím, *Muhammadian Jurisprudence*, p. 20.

² Macdonald, *Aspects of Islám*, p. 146.

illustration of an isnád: 'Málik relates from Yahyá ibn Sa'ud, from 'Umra, the daughter of 'Abdu'r-Rahmán, from 'Áyisha, the wife of the Prophet, who said: "The Prophet conducted morning service, and the women returned therefrom with their upper garments wrapped around them in such a way that they could not be recognized in the twilight." ' This Tradition also settles the time for the ṣalátu'l-fajr, which must be just before daybreak. Each person, too, in an isnád must be well known for his good character and retentive memory. 'The system of isnád employed by the Traditionists of the Ḥijáz is very superior to that which the others follow, and singularly corroborates the authenticity of their Traditions. This arises from the extreme care they took. They only received Traditions from the mouths of upright and virtuous men, gifted with good memories.'¹ All this care, however, failed to prevent a vast number of manifestly false Traditions becoming current, especially in the early Umayyad period; so men set themselves to the work of collecting and sifting the great mass of Tradition that in the second century of Islám had begun to work untold evil. It is to be regretted that the work of sifting—a work for more difficult than that of collecting—was not done in accordance with the sound canons of historical research. The criticism was never internal. The substance of a Tradition might be foolish, improbable, or even apparently impossible; it mattered not, if the isnád, or chain of narrators, was duly established. The weight of internal evidence may sometimes be over estimated, but to

¹ Ibn Khaldún, ii. 468.

discard it altogether as these collectors of Traditions did, is to justify the opinion of those, amongst whom modern intelligent Muslims will be found, who now attach little historical value to the works of the Muḥaddithūn, or collectors of Tradition.¹ The Sunnis and the Wahhábis recognize six such men, and their collections are known as the *Ṣiḥāḥu's-sitta*, or six correct books. They are the following:—²

1. The *Ṣaḥíḥ* of Bukhárí, called after Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad ibn Ismá'il, a native of Bukhárá. He was born A.H. 194. He was a man of middle height, spare in frame, and as a boy totally blind. His father one day in a dream saw the Patriarch Abraham, who said to him, 'God, on account of thy grief and sorrow, has granted sight to thy son.' The sight being thus restored, at the age of ten he went to school and began to learn the Traditions by heart. After his education was finished, a famous Muḥaddith named Dakhlí came to Bukhárá. One day the youthful Bukhárí ventured to correct the famous man. It was an astounding piece of audacity but the youth was

¹ A very valuable critical account of the labours of these men and of the slight historical value of the Traditions will be found in *The Moslem Review* for October 1915, pp. 349-79. Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad Khán, the founder of the Aḥmadiyya sect said that the Traditions were hopeless contradictions and that the only possible criterion by which the true Tradition can be distinguished from the false would be the actual appearance of al-Mahdi (i.e. himself) fulfilling certain of the prophecies and thus stamping them as true. Walter, *The Ahmadiyya Movement*, p. 39.

² The most important of all these Traditions will be found in the *Mishkattu'l-Maṣḍib* compiled by Shaikh Wáli'u'd-dín A.H. 737. An English translation of this work was published in Calcutta in 1809.

proved to be in the right. This set him on the work of collecting and sifting the Traditions. At the early age of sixteen he was able to remember fifteen thousand. In course of time he collected 600,000 Traditions. The result of his examination and selection was that he approved of seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five.¹ These are now recorded in his great work, the *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukḥārī*, a collection preferred to all others in Asia and Egypt. It is said that he never sat down to examine a Tradition without first performing a legal ablution and repeating two rak'at prayers. He then said: 'O Lord, let me not make a mistake.' For sixteen years he lived in a mosque, and died much respected, at the age of sixty-four.

2. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim. Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj was born at Nishápúr, a city of *Khurásán*. He collected about 300,000 Traditions, from which he made his collection, which is held in high repute in Spain and North Africa. He is said to have been a very just man, and willing to oblige all who sought his advice. This willingness was the indirect cause of his death. One day he was sitting in the mosque when some people came to ask him about a Tradition. As he could not discover it in the books he had with him, he went to his house to search there. The people brought him a basket of dates. He went on eating

¹ Of these it is computed that more than half of them are recorded in the authority of Abú Huraira, Ibn 'Abbás and Anas bin Málík. Abu Huraira became a Muslim four years before Muḥammad died and does not appear to have been a man of importance. At the time of the Prophet's death Ibn 'Abbás was fourteen years of age and Anas bin Málík was only nineteen. Two boys and a young convert are thus looked upon as the great authorities of Traditions.

and searching but ate so many dates that he died. A.H. 261.¹

3. The *Sunan* of Abú Dá'úd. Abú Dá'úd Sajistání a native of Seistán, was born A.H. 202, and died in A.H. 275. He was a great traveller, and went to all the chief places of Musalmán learning. In knowledge of the Traditions, in devotion, in piety, he was unrivalled. He collected about 500,000 Traditions, of which he selected four thousand eight hundred for his book.

4. The *Jámi'* of Tirmidhí. Abú 'Isa Muḥammad at-Tirmidhí was born at Tirmidh in the year A.H. 209. He died in the year A.H. 279. He was a disciple of Bukhárí. Ibn Khallikán says this work is 'the production of a well-informed man: its exactness is proverbial.'²

5. The *Sunan* of Nasá'í. Abú 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán an-Nasá'í was born at Nasá, in Khurásán, in the year A.H. 214, and died A.H. 303. It is recorded of him that he fasted every other day, and had four wives and many slaves. This book is considered of great value. He met with his death in rather a sad way. He had compiled a book on the virtues of 'Alí, and as the people of Damascus were at that time inclined to the heresy of the Khárijites, he wished to read his book in the mosque of that place. After he had read a little way, a man arose and asked him whether he knew aught of the praises of Mu'áwiyah, 'Alí's deadly enemy. He

¹ For an excellent account of the influence of Bukhárí and Muslim on the various schools of Law, see Sir 'Abdu'r-Raḥím, *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 31-2.

² Ibn Khallikán, ii. 679.

replied that he did not. This answer enraged the people, who beat him so severely that he died soon after.

6. The *Sunan* of Ibn Májah. Ibn Májah¹ was born at 'Iráq, A.H. 209 and died at the age of sixty-four. This work contains 4,000 Traditions.

The Shí'ahs reject these books and substitute five books² of their own. They are of a much later date.

The belief which underlies the question of the authority of the Traditions is that before the Throne of God there stands a 'preserved tablet,'³ on which all that can happen, and all that has ever entered or will enter the mind of man, is 'noted in a distinct writing.' Through the medium of Gabriel, the Prophet had access to this. It follows, then, that the words of the Prophet express the will of God.

Of the four great Canonical Legists of Islám, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was the chief collector of Traditions. He knew by heart no less than one million and of these he incorporated thirty thousand into his system of jurisprudence, a system now almost obsolete. Abú Ḥanífa, who is said to have accepted only eighteen Traditions as authentic, founded a school which is to this day the most powerful in Islám. The Ḥanifís, however, as well as other

¹ 'A high authority in the Traditions : well versed in all the sciences connected with them.' Ibn Khallikán, ii. 680.

² The *Káfi*, by Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, A.H. 329. The *Man-lá-Yastuḥsirahu'l-Faqih*, by Shaikh 'Alí, A.H. 381. The *Nahju'l-Balághah*, by Syed ar-Rází, A.H. 406. The *Tahdhibi* and the *Istibṣār*, by Shaikh Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, A.H. 466.

³ For the Jewish origin of this idea, see Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'dn*, pp. 116-19.

Muslims, acknowledge the six standard collections of Traditions as direct revelations of the will of God. They range over a vast number of subjects, and furnish a commentary on the Qur'án. The Prophet's personal appearance, his mental and moral qualities, his actions, his opinions, are all recorded over and over again. Many questions of religious belief are largely founded on the Traditions, and it is to them we must go for an explanation of much of the ritual of Islám. It is very difficult for any one, who has not lived in long and friendly intercourse with Muslims, to realize how much their religious life and opinions, their thought and actions, are based on the Traditions.

The classification of the Traditions adopted by different authors may vary in some subordinate points. A Tradition may be Ḥadīthu'l-qaul, that is, an account of something the Prophet said; or Ḥadīthu'l-fi'l, a record of something which he did; or Ḥadīthu't-taqīr, a statement of some act performed by other persons in his presence, and which action he did not forbid.

The Traditions may be classed under two general heads :—

First, Ḥadīthu'l-Mutawátir, that is, 'an undoubted Tradition,' the isnád or chain of narrators of which is perfect, and in which chain each narrator possessed all the necessary qualifications for his office.¹ Some authorities say that there are only

¹ If the isnád is good, internal improbability carries with it little weight against the genuineness of a Tradition. There is a saying current to this effect: 'A relation made by Sháfi'i on the authority of Málik, and by him on the authority of Náfi', and by him on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, is really the golden chain.'

a very few of these Traditions extant, but most allow that the following is one : ' There are no good works except with intention ; ' for example, a man may fast, but, unless he has the intention of fasting firmly in his mind, he gains no spiritual reward by so doing.

Second, Hadīthu'l-Aḥād. The authority of this class is theoretically somewhat less than that of the first, but practically it is the same.

This class is again subdivided into two :—

1. Hadīthu's-Ṣaḥīḥ, or a genuine Tradition. A Tradition is ṣaḥīḥ if the narrators have been men of pious lives, abstemious in their habits, endowed with a good memory, free from blemish, and persons who lived at peace with their neighbours.¹ The following also are ṣaḥīḥ. I arrange them in the order of their value. Ṣaḥīḥ Traditions are those which are found in the collections made by Bukhārī and Muslim, or in the collection of either of the above, though not in both ; or, if not mentioned by either of these famous collectors, if they have been retained in accordance with their canons for the rejection or retention of Traditions ; or lastly, if retained in accordance with the rules of any other approved collector. For each of these classes there is a distinct name.

2. Hadīthu'l-Ḥasan. The narrators of this class are not of such good authority as those of the former with regard to one or two qualities, but these Traditions should be received as of equal authority as

¹ For the qualifications of a narrator see *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, pp. 73-4 ; and for the way in which imperfect attestation was dealt with by Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, see Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, pp. 84-5.

regards any practical use.¹ It is merely as a matter of classification that they rank second.

In addition to these names there are a number of other technical terms which have regard to the personal character of the narrators, the isnád, and other points. A few may be mentioned.

1. *Ḥadīthu'd-Ḍa'if*, or a weak Tradition. The narrators were persons with characters not above reproach, whose memories were bad, or who, worse still, were addicted to *bid'at*, or innovation—a habit now, as then, a crime in the eyes of all true Muslims. All agree that a 'weak Tradition' has little force; but few rival theologians now agree as to which are, and which are not, 'weak Traditions.'

2. *Ḥadīthu'l-Mu'allaq*, or a Tradition in the isnád of which there is some break. If it begins with a *Tábi'*, it is called *mursal*, the one link in the chain, the Companion, being wanting. If the first link in the chain of narrators begins in a generation still later, its name is different, and so on.

3. Traditions which have various names, according as the narrator concealed the name of his *Imám*, or where different narrators disagree, or where the narrator has mixed some of his own words with the Tradition,² or has been proved to be a liar, an evil liver, or mistaken; but into an account of these it is not necessary to enter, for no Tradition of this

¹ *Núru'l-Hidýah*, p. 5.

² 'The art of touching up a Tradition by making a defective isnád appear a sound one was sufficiently common to receive a special name—*tadlis*—and those who were skilled in these forgeries were known as *Mudallisún*. For the original authorities for this statement, see *The Muslim Review*, October 1915, p. 360.

class would be considered as of itself sufficient ground on which to base any doctrine.¹

A Tradition may be abrogated in the same way as a verse of the Qur'án. The following example taken from Bukhárí is quoted as a proof of this : 'We made salám to the Prophet when he was engaged in prayer, and he returned it.' This is now abrogated by this Tradition : 'After we returned from Abyssinia, we made our salám to the Prophet when he was at prayer. He did not return it, but said, "In prayer there is no employment"' (i.e. do not attend to other things then).² Another example is given with regard to mut'a marriages. The Tradition, 'Whatever man and woman agree to live together for ten or more days, if they like they can increase it or separate,' is said to have been abrogated by this later Tradition : 'The Prophet at last forbade mut'a marriages.'

It is the universally accepted rule that no authentic Tradition can be contrary to the Qur'án. The importance attached to Tradition has been shown in the preceding chapter, an importance which has demanded the formation of an elaborate system of exegesis. To an orthodox Muslim the Book and the Sunna, God's word direct and God's word through the mind of the Prophet, are the foundation and sum of Islám, a fact not always taken into account by the modern panegyrists of it. It has been well said that 'the fundamental weakness of the system is the possibility that any text of the

¹ A full account of these will be found in the preface to the *Nur-ul-Hidáya*, the Urdu translation of the *Sharh-i-Waqdya*.

² *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, i. 302.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 427

Qur'án may have been abrogated, and the liability of any Tradition to be questioned.'

The Qur'án and the Traditions give the basis of the whole theocratic system ; but here and there in them we find 'healthier but unhomogeneous admixtures and anomalous touches of better grace.' These, however, do not alter the whole scheme as authoritatively developed, or really change its character.¹ Palgrave on this very point says : 'Neglect of this discrimination has led some apologists into eulogies of Muḥammad, which Muḥammad himself would have been the first to reject : has led them to transform the "Messenger of God" into a philanthropist and the Qur'án into a gospel. To this end detached sentences have been at times assumed for criteria of the whole work, and rare anomalies brought forward as the general and dominant tenor of the Prophet's life and writing.'²

¹ In Turkey the Shikhu'l-Islám is the supreme authority on legal and religious questions. He signs fatvas, or decrees, but the substance of the decisions are prepared by an official, called the Fatva Emini, after he has consulted the accepted legal authorities. He has no initiative 'In the phraseology of Sunní theology "the door of free interpretation is closed." Not only is religion limited by the Qur'án and the Traditions, but the latter must be understood only according to the received explanations, and no amount of learning or sanctity authorizes any one to make use of the smallest particle of originality. Odysseus, *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 132-3.

² *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 360. See also Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 318.

CHAPTER III

THE SECTS OF ISLÁM

THE opinion that the Muḥammadan religion is remarkable for the absence of dogma and for the unanimity of its professors is incorrect. The next chapter will contain a full account of the doctrines held by the Sunnis, who are called the orthodox. In this chapter I shall explain the views of some of the unorthodox sects.

The term Shi'ah means a 'follower,' and is now used to denote the followers of 'Alí, the son-in-law of Muḥammad and the fourth Khalífa. The Shi'ah sect is chiefly found in Persia. Koshai, a man of the Quraish tribe, about the year A.D. 440 acquired for his own family the guardianship of the Ka'ba. He gathered around himself at Mecca many of the scattered Quraish families, improved the city, and gradually assumed the dignities connected with the custody of the Ka'ba and the pilgrimage to it. He thus became the chief spiritual and temporal ruler of Mecca. After his death many disputes arose amongst his descendants, and at length the various offices he held were divided amongst his grandchildren. The siqáya and rifáda, the prerogative of providing water and food to the pilgrims, passed on to Háshim, the leadership in war to 'Abdu'sh-Shams. The son of Háshim, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, succeeded his father, but met with much opposition from Umayya, the son of 'Abdu'sh-Shams. However, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, who was the grandfather of

Muḥammad, maintained his position as head of the Quraish. Thus two permanent rival factions were formed, the Hášhimites and the Umayyads both descendants of the great Koshai. The feud passed on from generation to generation. Muḥammad was a lineal descendant of Hášhim. His ablest and most active enemy in Mecca was Abú Sufyán, a grandson of Umayya. The Arab families were united in hate as well as in love. Nothing delighted their members more than to hear of and dwell upon the passions and strifes of their ancestors—hatreds which they took care to keep alive and hand down to their descendants as they had received them from the generations passed away. Abú Sufyán commanded the Quraish in more than one attack on the Prophet's forces, but, the day before the entry of Muḥammad with his friends into Mecca, Abú Sufyán acknowledged his error and submitted to the Prophet who then granted him a free pardon.¹ It was a mere outward conversion, and it led to much heart-burning between the faithful Anṣár² of Madína and these new allies.

Two parties now gradually formed themselves amongst the Muslims—on the one side the Companions of the Prophet and the men of Madína ; on the other, the descendants of Umayya and of the Quraish generally. The two first Khalífas, Abú Bakr and 'Umar, held the respective parties in check, but the third Khalífa, 'Uthmán, failed to do so. He

¹ *Rauḍatu's-Ṣafá*, Part II, ii. 588.

² The term al-Anṣár means 'The helpers,' and is used of the early converts at Madína : the men of Mecca who accompanied Muḥammad to Madína were called Muhájirún, or the exiles.

was a member of the family of Umayya, though he had voluntarily and sincerely adopted the Prophet's cause. He gradually removed the leaders of the army and others from their places of command and trust.

Men most distasteful to the great body of Muslims, men such as Mu'áwiya, son of Abú Sufyán, Merwán, whom the Prophet had banished from Mecca, and others belonging to the Umayyad clan, were placed in high commands and in administrative posts of influence. Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Kúfa, and other places, were entrusted to the care of men whose antecedents and present practices scandalized the Faithful. The political position was becoming intolerable, and at length Muḥammad, a son of the late Khalífa, Abú Bakr, with 10,000 men, came to Madína to state the grievances of his party. 'Uṭhmán put them off with a promise of redress ; but on their return home they intercepted an official letter to the Governor of Egypt, ordering him to put them all to death. They returned at once to Madína, stormed the palace, and assassinated the Khalífa.

'Alí, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, was now proclaimed Khalífa by the people of Madína, and a terrible civil war ensued. Bitter feelings were then engendered which even to this day find vent in the annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram. 'Alí was too straightforward to adopt any temporizing policy, and at once issued a decree deposing all the governors of the Umayyad party. Although theoretically, as Khalífa, he had this power, yet men who had tasted the sweets of office were not inclined to give them up, and so they

quickly set up a hostile force, headed by one of the ablest and most unscrupulous men of the age, Mu'áwiya, son of Abú Sufyán, and now governor of Syria. Mu'áwiya denounced 'Alí as the murderer of 'Uthmán. 'Thirty thousand men,' so says the message sent to 'Alí, 'have sworn to avenge his death, and never cease from mourning till all concerned in it have been killed.'

The cause of 'Alí received its chief blow at the battle of Siffin A.D. 657. All went well for a time, and Mu'áwiya was about to beat a retreat, when 'Amr bin al-'Ás, one of his generals, hit upon a cunning device. He ordered a number of his soldiers to advance with copies of the Qur'án fixed to the heads of their lances. 'Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow,' they shouted. 'Let the book of God decide between us.' 'Alí's army was composed of military theologians, fanatical and disputatious. 'God is great,' they replied, 'we must submit to the arbitrament of this book.' 'Alí tried in vain to prevent his followers from falling into the trap laid for them, but failed. Violent altercations ensued, which finally resulted in a very large secession from his ranks. These men originated the sect called the Khárijites. They objected to the result of the arbitration and repented of their previous approval of this mode of deciding the case. They repudiated the authority of 'Alí, saying 'Lá ḥukma illá li'lláh'—arbitration belongs to none save God. They became a very fanatical sect, known as the Khawárij, or Seceders, and gave much trouble then and afterwards.'

¹ Called also Khárijites. For a good account of them, see Browne, *A Literary History of the Persians*, i 220-3.

The arbitration went in favour of Mu'áwiya. Still the trickery of the whole affair was so manifest that the war soon recommenced, and then clouds and darkness gathered around the path of 'Alí. Many of the more fanatical Muslims of his own party turned against him, and the old feudal hatred of the Umayyads followed him to the death. His sad and chequered life ended in the year A.H. 40, when he was assassinated by a Khárijite. One great blot in his character is connected with the fate of 'Uthmán, to whom he had sworn loyalty, and whose murderers he should have brought to justice. It was an error of judgment, to say the least, and lent a strong motive to men who perhaps otherwise might not have opposed him. But for all that, 'Alí was one of the best and truest-hearted of the early Muslim chiefs, and was worthily calculated to win and retain, as he has done for so many centuries, the ardent love and affection of so many millions of Shí'ahs.¹ 'Alí's eldest son, Ḥasan, made a formal renunciation of his claim, and took an oath of allegiance to Mu'áwiya, who thus became the Khalífa of Islám. Still, so long as the lad was alive, he felt insecure, and being anxious to leave the government to his son Yazíd, he caused Ḥasan, some years after, to be put to death by poison—so at least the Shí'ah historians say. The city of Kúfa, where 'Alí was assassinated, was the centre of religious fanaticism. It was the home of the Qur'án Readers, Doctors of the Law, and of theologians generally. Theological controversy raged, and much of the after bewildering

¹ See Sell, *The Cult of 'Alí* (C.L.S.).

refinement of Muslim theology owes its origin to the wrangling disputes of the men of Kúfa.

Yazíd, who succeeded his father Mu'áwiya in the year A.H. 60, was not an orthodox Muslim. He drank wine, loved dogs, and hated an austere life. The men of Kúfa were scandalized, and he in return treated them with much contempt. At this time, H̄usain, the remaining son of 'Alí, was residing at Mecca. He had never taken the oath of allegiance to Mu'áwiya, and so now the men of Kúfa begged him to come, and promised to espouse his cause if only he would pronounce the deposition of Yazíd and take away the Khalífate from the house of Umayya. The friends of H̄usain in vain urged that the men of Kúfa were a fickle lot, and that they could, if they wished, revolt against Yazíd without his help. H̄usain accepted the call, and started for Kúfa with his family and a small escort of forty horsemen and one hundred foot-soldiers.

But meanwhile Yazíd sent the Governor of Baṣra to block the way, and H̄usain on the plains of Karbalá found his progress arrested by a force of 3,000 men. The people of Kúfa gave no aid. Submission or death was the alternative placed before him. To his followers he said, 'Let all who wish to go do so.' 'O son of the Apostle of God,' was the reply, 'what excuse could we give to thy grandfather on the day of resurrection did we abandon thee?' One by one the small band fell, and at last H̄usain and his little son, a mere infant, alone remained. H̄usain sat on the ground. Not one of the enemy seemed to dare touch the grandson of the Prophet. The scene was a strange one—H̄usain

sitting down, his little boy running round him, all his followers lying dead close by, the enemy longing for his blood but restrained by a superstitious awe. Husain took the little lad up into his arms; a chance arrow pierced the child's ear and it died at once. Husain then placed the corpse on the ground, saying, 'We come from God and we return to Him. O God, give me strength to bear these misfortunes.' He stooped down to drink some water from the Euphrates which flowed close by. Just then an arrow struck him in the mouth. Encouraged by this, the enemy rushed on him and speedily put an end to his life. The plain of Karbalá is now a place of sacred pilgrimage to Shí'ahs, and the sad event which took place there is kept alive in their memories by the annual celebration of the Muḥarram. The schism was now complete. A rent had been made in the Muslim world which time has failed to heal. 'The martyred Husain' is a watch-word which has kept alive a spirit of hatred and of vengeance even to this day.

Many Traditions record the virtues of 'Alí and his family. The martyrdom of Husain was foretold by Muḥammad, for he is reported to have said of Husain, 'He will die for the sake of my people.' Just before he set out upon his fatal journey, standing by the grave of the Prophet, Husain said, 'How can I forget thy people, since I am going to offer myself for their sakes?' This idealizing of the natural result of a tribal feud seems to show that the hard and cold system of orthodox Islám failed to find a warm response in the Persian mind. The Christian idea of self-denial, of self-renunciation,

of self-sacrifice for others was needed; and this representation of Ḥusain as a voluntary sacrifice was the substitute the Shí'ahs found. It has been well said that 'the death of Ḥusain, as idealized in after ages, fills up this want in Islám: it is the womanly as against the masculine—the Christian as opposed to the Jewish element that this story supplies to the work of Muḥammad.'

The annual ceremonies celebrated in the month of Muḥarram refer to the historical facts, and help to keep alive a bitter feud; but to suppose that the only difference between the Shí'ah and the Sunnī is a mere dispute as to the proper order of the early Khalífas would be a mistake. Starting off with a political quarrel, the Shí'ahs have travelled into a very distinct religious position of their own. The fundamental tenet of the Shí'ah sect is the 'divine right' of 'Alí the Chosen and his descendants. From this it follows that the chief duty of religion consists in devotion to the Imám (or Pontiff); from which position some curious dogmas issue.

The whole question of the Imámat is a very important one. The term Imám comes from an Arabic word meaning 'to aim at,' 'to follow after,' and it thus becomes equal to the word leader or exemplar. It is applied in this sense to Muḥammad as the leader in all civil and religious questions, and to the Khalífas, his successors, who are called the Great Imáms. It is also, in its religious import only, applied to the founders of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, and in a restricted sense to the leader of a congregation at prayer in a mosque. They are called the Lesser Imáms. Shí'ahs hold

that the Imám, as a leader of prayer, must be sinless (ma'súm); the Sunnis say that the namáz can be led by any Imám, whether he is a good or a bad man. They adduce the following story in support of their view:—‘One day the people asked Abú Hanífa about the leading tenets of the Sunnis.’ He replied, ‘To consider Abú Bakr and ‘Umar as the highest in rank, to esteem ‘Uthmán and ‘Alí, to allow a ceremonial ablution to be made on the shoe (i.e. not necessarily on naked feet), and to say the namáz behind any Imám, a good man or a sinner.’ It is with the Imám considered as a Great Imám that we have now to deal. It is used in this sense in the Qur’án : ‘When his Lord made trial of Abraham by commands which he fulfilled, He said: “I am about to make of thee an Imám to mankind ;” he said: “of my offspring also ?” “My covenant,” said God, “embraceth not the evil-doers ”’ (ii. 118). From this verse two doctrines are deduced. First, that the Imám must be appointed by God, for if this is not the case why did Abraham then say, ‘of my offspring also ?’ Second, the Imám is free from sin, for God said: ‘My covenant embraceth not the evil-doer.’

The first dispute about the Imámat originated with the men who revolted from ‘Alí after the battle of Siffin, and who were nearly all destroyed by him some years later. A few survivors fled to various parts, and two at last settled in Omán, and preached their distinctive doctrines. In course of time the people of Omán adopted the doctrine that the Imámat was not hereditary but elective, and that in the event of misconduct the Imám might be deposed.

'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Ibád (A.D. 744) was a vigorous preacher of this doctrine, and from him the sect known as the 'Ibádiyya takes its rise. The result of this teaching was the establishment of the power and jurisdiction of the Imám of Omán. The 'Ibádiyya seem to have always kept themselves independent of the Sunní Khalífas of Baghdád, and, therefore, would consider themselves free from any obligation to obey the Sultán of Turkey. From ordinary Shí'ahs they differ as regards the 'divine right' of 'Alí and his children.¹

The Mu'tazilís also maintained that the Imám was to be elected by the people. They said : 'God and His Apostle did not set apart any one specially as Imám. The free choice is left to the people themselves.'²

The tragic end of 'Alí and his sons invested them with peculiar interest. When grieving for the sad end of their leaders, the Shí'ahs found consolation in the doctrine which soon found development, namely, that it was God's will that the Imámat should continue in the family of 'Alí. Thus a Tradition relates that the Prophet said : 'He of whom I am master has 'Alí also for a master.' 'The best judge among you is 'Alí.' Ibn 'Abbás, a Companion, says : 'I heard the Prophet say : "He who blasphemes my name blasphemes the name of God ; he who blasphemes the name of 'Alí blasphemes my name."' Some say 'Alí is still alive and that 'a part of God' is in him, and also that 'Alí will descend upon earth and fill it with justice,

¹ For further information, see Badger, *Seyyids of Omán*.

² Mas'údí, *Murriju'dh-Dhahab* (ed. Meynard, Paris, 1861), vi. 24.

as it is now filled with tyranny. ‘‘Alí existed before the creation of the heavens and the earth ; he is a shadow at the right hand of the throne, and men and angels make tasbîh to him.’’¹

A general idea is, that long before the creation of the world, God took a ray of light from the splendour of His own glory and united it to the body of Muḥammad. A Tradition recorded by ‘Alí says : ‘Thou art the elect, the chosen ; I will make the members of thy family the guides to salvation.’ ‘I place in thee my light and the treasures of my grace ; for thy sake I make the waters to flow, exalt the heavens, distribute rewards and punishments, and create heaven and hell. I reveal to thy family the secrets of knowledge and to them shall there be no subtlety nor mystery. They will be the apostles of My power and unity.’² Muḥammad said : ‘The first thing which God created was my light and my spirit.’ In due time the world was created, but not until the birth of Muḥammad did this ray of glory appear. It is well known to all Musalmáns as the Light of Muḥammad. This núr or light is said to be of four kinds. From the first kind God created His throne, from the second the pen of fate, from the third paradise, and from the fourth the state or place of spirits and all created beings.

This light³ descended to ‘Alí, and from him passed on to the true Imáms, who alone are the

¹ Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, pp, 132-4.

² Mas'údí, *Muríju'dh-Dhahab*, i. 56.

³ It is said that the only difference between the light of Muḥammad and that of ‘Alí is that the one was prior to the other in time. Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 145.

lawful successors of the Prophet. Rebellion against them is sin ; devotion to them the very essence of religion. It is said that the Imámat is a light (núr) which passes from one to the other and becomes prophetship ; that the Imáms are prophets and divine ; and that divinity is a ray in prophetship, which is a ray in Imámat, and that the world is never free from these signs and lights (anwár). Some commentators say that the word light in the verse, 'Now hath a light (núr) and a clear book come to you from God' (v. 18) means the light of Muḥammad ; others that it refers to the Qur'án. The whole idea of this núr seems, however, to have been borrowed from Zoroastrian sources and to have been originally connected with Jamshíd.¹

The Imám is the successor of the Prophet, adorned with all his qualities. He is wiser than the most learned men of the age, holier than the most pious. He is the noblest of the sons of men, and is free from all sin, original or actual :² hence the Imám is called ma'súm. The Imám is equal to a prophet. 'Alí said : 'In me is the glory of every prophet that has ever been.' The authority of the Imám is the authority of God, for 'his word is the word of God and of the Prophet, and obedience to his order is incumbent.' The nature of the Imám is identical with the nature of Muḥammad, for did not 'Alí say : 'I am Muḥammad, and

¹ Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'án*, pp. 246-51.

² 'The Imámities believe that the Imám, preserved inviolate from sin knows well what is in the pregnant womb and behind walls.' Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syúfí, *History of the Khálifas*, translated by Major Jarrett, Calcutta, 1881, p. 473.

Muḥammad is me.' This probably refers to the possession by the Imám of the light of Muḥammad. The bodies of the Imáms are so pure and delicate that they cast no shadow. They are the beginning and the end of all things. To know the Imáms is the very essence of the knowledge which men can gain of God. As mediums between God and man they hold a far higher position than the prophets, for the grace of God, without their intervention, reaches to no created being. 'The Imám of the Shí'ahs is the divinely-ordained successor of the Prophet, endowed with all perfections and spiritual gifts, one whom all the faithful must obey, whose decision is absolute and final, whose wisdom is superhuman, and whose words are authoritative.'¹ The Imám is the supreme Pontiff, the Vicar of God on earth.² The possession of an infallible book is not sufficient. The infallible guide is needed. Such wisdom and discernment as such a guide would require can only be found amongst the descendants of the Prophet. It is no longer, then, a matter of wonder that, in some cases, almost divine honour is paid to 'Alí and his descendants.'³

The uṣúl, or fundamental tenets of the Shí'ah sect, are five in number : (1) To believe in the unity of God. (2) To admit that He is just. (3) To believe

¹ Browne, *Episode of the Báb*, p. 296.

² For a curious account of the qualities possessed by the Imáms, see *Journal Asiatique*, Quatrième Série. Tome iii. 398 ; and for the connexion of the Imám with a prophet, *RASJ*, July 1899, p. 632.

³ The Sunnís esteem and respect the Imáms as Ahlu'l-Báit, 'men of the House' (of the Prophet) ; but do not give them precedence over the duly appointed Khalífas

in the divine mission of all the prophets, and that Muḥammad is the chief of all. (4) To consider 'Alí the Khalífa next in order after Muḥammad,¹ and to believe 'Alí's descendants from Ḥasan to al-Mahdí, the twelfth Imám, to be his true successors, and to consider all of them, in character, position, and dignity, as raised far above all other Muslims. This is the doctrine of the Imámát. (5) To believe in the resurrection of the body.

The two principal divisions of the Shí'ah sect are the Ismá'ílians and the Imámians. The latter believe in twelve Imáms, reckoning 'Alí as the first.² The last of the twelve, Abú'l-Qásim, is supposed to be alive still, though hidden in some secret place. He bears the name of al-Mahdí, the Guided, and hence a leader qualified to guide others. When he was born the words, 'Say : " Truth is come and falsehood is vanished : Verily falsehood is a thing that vanisheth ' " (xvii. 83),³ were found written on his right arm. A person one day visited Imám

¹ The Shí'ahs in support of their opinion regarding the close union of 'Alí with the Prophet, adduce the fact that in the 34th verse of Súra xxxiii the pronoun 'you' in the words, 'God only desireth to put away filthiness from *you* as his household,' is in the masculine gender and in the plural form. The household being, according to the Shí'ahs, Muḥammad, Faṭíma, 'Alí, Ḥusain, and Ḥasan, they say the word 'you' must mean 'Alí and his sons. The Sunní commentators say that the context shows that the word 'you' refers to the wives of the Prophet, and support this view by stating that the preceding pronouns and the next finite verb, 'recollect,' are all feminine. See Baiḍáwí (ii. 128) for a full explanation.

² Ibn Khaldún (i. 43) says : ' It is an error of the Imámians to pretend that the Imámát is one of the pillars of religion : it is in reality only an office instituted for the general good. If it had been a pillar of religion the Prophet would have delegated it to some one.'

³ These words are said to have been repeated at the capture of Mecca Khulḍatu't-Tafsír, ii 55.

Ḥasan 'Askarí (the eleventh Imám) and said : ' O son of the Prophet, who will be Khalífa and Imám after thee ? ' Bringing out a child he said : ' If thou hadst not found favour in the eyes of God, He would not have shown thee this child ; his name is that of the Prophet, and so is his patronymic ' (Abú'l-Qásim).

A Tradition, recorded on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás, says : ' There will be twelve Khalífas after me ; ' the first is my brother, the last my son.' ' O messenger of God,' said the people, ' and who is thy brother ? ' The Prophet replied, ' 'Alí.' ' And thy son ? ' ' Mahdí, who will fill the earth with justice, even though it be covered with great tyranny, will come at last. Jesus will then appear and follow him. The light of God will illuminate the earth, and the empire of the Imám will extend from east to west. '

The Imámians also adduce the following Traditions. ' Gabriel came one day with the tablet of decree in his hand, and lo ! on it were the names of the twelve Imáms in their proper order of succession.' A Jew named Janúb once said to the Prophet, ' Who will be your heirs and successors ? ' The Prophet replied, ' They agree in number with the twelve tribes of Israel.'

¹ The names are 'Alí, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Zainu'l-'Abidin, Muḥammad Baqr, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq, Músá Kázim, 'Alí ibn Músá 'ar-Razá, Muḥammad Taqí, Muḥammad Naqí, Ḥasan 'Askarí, Abú'l-Qásim (or Imám Mahdí).

It is said that Ḥusain, from whom these Imáms are descended, some time after the battle of Qadisíyya (A.H. 15) married a captive Persian lady, the daughter of Yazdádgerd iii, the last Sassanian king. This may account, in part, for the esteem in which Persians hold these Imáms.

As to the claim of the Imámians that 'Alí was the Khalífa appointed by Muḥammad to succeed him as head of the faithful, Ibn Khaldún says : ' The error of the Imámians arises from a principle which they have adopted as true and which is not so. They pretend that the Imámat is one of the pillars of religion, whereas, in reality, it is an office instituted for the general advantage and placed under the surveillance of the people. If it had been one of the pillars of religion the Prophet would have taken care to bequeath the functions of it to some one ; and he would have ordered the name of his intended successor to be published, as he had already done in the case of the leader of prayer (namáz). The Companions recognized Abú Bakr as Khalífa because of the analogy which existed between the functions of the Khalífa and those of the leader of prayer. " The Prophet," they said, " chose him to watch over our spiritual interests ; why should we not choose him to watch over our earthly interests ? " This shows that the Prophet had not bequeathed the Imámat to any one, and that the Companions attached much less importance to that office and its transmission than is now done.' ¹

The other large division, the Ismá'ílians,² agree with the Imámians in all particulars save one. They hold that after Ja'far Sádiq, the sixth Imám, commenced what is called the succession of the ' Concealed Imáms.' They believe that there never can be a time when the world will be without an

¹ Ibn Khaldún, i. 431.

² For a fuller account of this sect, see Sell, *The Druses* (C.L.S.), pp. 1-20.

Imám, though he may be in seclusion. This idea has given rise to all sorts of secret societies, and has paved the way for a mystical religion, which often lands its votaries in atheism.

The 'Veiled Prophet of Khurásán' was one of these emissaries of disorder. Babek, who taught the indifference of human actions, and illustrated his teaching by acts of cruelty and lust during the reigns of the Khalífas Ma'mún and Mu'tásim, was another. For a while they were kept in check, but in the fourth century A.H., when the power of the Khalífate began to wane, the Karmathian outbreak shook the Islámic empire to the very centre.¹ Mecca was captured, the Ka'ba pillaged, and the famous black stone, split by a blow from the sacrilegious Karmathians, was removed and kept away for twenty-two years. This was, however, too serious a matter. It became the question of the preservation of society against anarchy. The Karmathians were at length defeated, and passed away ; but in the places where they lived orthodox Islám never regained power in the hearts of the people.

One of the latest pretenders was the Mahdí in the Súdán. The fanatical attachment of his followers to his person is now explained, for what I have described as the doctrine concerning the Imám would, when once they acknowledged him to be such, have a very real influence over them. They would look upon him as the 'Concealed Imám' brought again amongst men to restore the world to obedience to God's law, to reprove the careless

¹ See Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 401-5 for an account of this sect.

Musalmáns and to destroy the infidels. This also accounts for his arrogant tone and defiance of the Sultán, the acknowledged head of the Sunnis, who form the majority of Musalmáns.

When Islám entered upon the tenth century of its existence, there was throughout Persia and India a millenarian movement. Men declared that the end was drawing near, and various persons arose who claimed to be al-Mahdí. Amongst others was Shaikh 'Alá'í of Agra (A.H. 956). Shaikh Mubáarak, the father of Abú'l-Faḍl, the emperor Akbar's famous vizier, was a disciple of Shaikh 'Alá'í, and from him imbibed Mahdavi ideas. This brought upon him the wrath of the 'Ulamá, who, however, were finally overcome by the free-thinking and heretical Emperor and his vizier. There never was a better Muslim ruler in India than Akbar, and never a more heretical one as far as orthodox Islám is concerned. The emperor delighted in the controversies of the age. The Şúfis and Mahdavis were in favour at Court. The orthodox 'Ulamá were treated with contempt. Akbar fully believed that the millennium had come. He started a new era and a new religion called the 'Divine Faith.' There was toleration for all except the bigoted orthodox Muslims. Abú'l-Faḍl and others like him, who professed to reflect Akbar's religious views, held that all religions contained truth. Thus :—

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and
in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee !

Polytheism and Islám feel after Thee,

Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.'

If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,

But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.¹

The Shí'ah doctrine of the Imámat seems to show that there is in the human heart a natural desire for some Mediator—some Word of the Father, who shall reveal Him to His children. At first sight it would seem as if this dogma might to some extent reconcile the thoughtful Shí'ah to the Christian doctrine of the incarnation and mediation of Jesus Christ, to His office as the perfect revealer of God's will, and as the guide in life ; but it is not so. The mystic lore connected with Shí'ah doctrine has sapped the foundation of moral life and vigour. A system of religious reservation is a fundamental part of the system in its mystical developments, whilst all Shí'ahs may lawfully practise taqíya, or religious compromise in their daily lives. It thus becomes impossible to place dependence on what a Shí'ah may profess, as pious frauds are legalized by his system of religion. If he becomes a mystic, he looks upon the ceremonial and the moral law as restrictions imposed by an Almighty Power. The advent of al-Mahdí is the good time when all such restrictions shall be removed, when the utmost freedom shall be allowed. Thus the moral sense, in many cases, becomes deadened to an extent such as those who are not in daily contact with these people can hardly credit. The practice of taqíya, religious

¹ Blochman, *'Ain-i-Akbari*, i. xxxii.

compromise,¹ and the legality of mut'a, or temporary marriages, have done much to demoralize the Shí'ah community.

The chief point of difference between the Shí'ah and the Sunnī is the doctrine of the Imámat. The annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram also keep alive the old historic feud. The Sunnīs are blamed for the work of their ancestors in the faith, whilst the Khalífas Abú Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmán are looked upon as usurpers. They had not the ray of light, on the possession of which alone could any one make good a claim to be the Imám, the guide of the Believers. The terrible disorders of the early days of Islám can only be understood when we realize to some extent the passionate longing which men felt for a spiritual head. It was thought to be impossible that Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, should leave the Faithful without a guide appointed by God who would be the interpreter of His will.

Other distinctive differences between the Shí'ah and the Sunnī are the belief that the most learned men of the Shí'ahs are Mujtahids,² qualified to give analogical judgments on any point on which a legal

¹ This is based on the verse, 'Let not believers take infidels for their friends rather than believers : whoso shall do this shall have nothing to hope for from God—unless, indeed, ye fear a fear from them.' (iii. 27). The Sunnī commentator Ḥusain (i. 65) states that this authorized taqíya in the early days of Islám, but that now it is only permissible in a Dáru'l-Ḥarb. The Shí'ahs consider that it is allowable everywhere and at all times. Baiḍáwī (i. 151) says that the Qárí Ya'qúb reads تَقِيَّةٌ - taqíyatan for the word تَوَقُّفٌ - tuqátan in the text, and that, therefore, the meaning is that alliance with unbelievers is forbidden, except in time of danger, when an ostensible alliance is permitted. There is a Shí'ah Tradition : 'Concealment of religious opinions is my religion and the religion of my fathers' (al-taqíyatu díní wa dínu ábú,í).

² *Ante*, pp. 34, 48.

decision is needed, and whose decision is final, which authority, however, the Sunnis decline to accord to them ; that the Muḥarram ceremonies should be observed in commemoration of the deaths of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, whilst Sunnis observe only the tenth day of Muḥarram, or the 'Ashúrá, as the day on which Adam was created. There are also minor differences in the liturgical ceremonies, and in some points of the civil law. On what may be termed questions of scholastic philosophy, Shí'ahs differ from the Sunnis, and, speaking generally, have a tendency to a somewhat freer method of looking at some abstruse questions. They also reject many of the Traditions received by the Sunnis. 'They reject Traditions given by the Companions of the Prophet, and replace them by others which they have received either from Companions who were the partisans of 'Alí, or from one or other of the twelve Imáms.'¹

This longing for a spiritual leader extends beyond the Shí'ah sect, and is of some importance in its bearing upon the Eastern Question. Apart from the superhuman claims for the Imám, he is, as a ruler, to the Shí'ah what the Khalífa is to the Sunni, the supreme head in Church and State, the successor of the Prophet, the conservator of Islám, as made known in the Qur'án, the Sunna, the Ijmá', and the legal decisions of the early Mujtahidún. To administer the laws, the administrator must have a divine sanction. Thus when the Ottoman ruler, Salím the First, conquered Egypt (A.D. 1517), he brought away the titular Khalífa from Cairo and kept him

¹ Ibn Khaldún, i. 439.

a prisoner in Constantinople. After the death of Salím in A.D. 1520, his successor Sulaymán the Great, when he had transferred the title of Khalífa to himself with such shadowy privileges as belonged to it, set the prisoner free and allowed him to go to Cairo.¹ In this way the Sultáns of 'Turkey became the Khalífas of Islám. Whether Muṭawakkil Billál, the last titular Khalífa of the house of 'Abbás, was right or wrong in thus transferring the title is not my purpose now to discuss.² I only adduce the fact

¹ See Muir, *The Mameluke Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 213; Wustenfeld, *Chroniken des Stadt Mekka*, iii. 328; Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Empire* (ed. 1877), p. 150; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 155. This same author in *Turkey*, p. 163 says that Salím became Khalifa. It is evidently a slip for Sulaymán.

² 'The Caliphate as a historical actuality, ceased to exist after enduring 626 years, in A.D. 1258' (Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 210. Muir, *Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, p. 594). A Turkish Patriot writes: 'The Sultáns were Sultáns long before they were Khalífas and brought their despotic absolutism with them from Asia. When they assumed the Khalífate (which was acquired irregularly) they vitiated it by fusing their absolutism into it' *Fortnightly Review*, May, 1897, p. 654.

Professor E. G. Browne (*London Times*, May 31, 1919) shows —

(1) That from the very beginning of Islám there has existed the widest divergence of views, not only as to the claims of individual candidates, but as to the general principles involved. One extreme is represented by the Shi'ah doctrine of the Imámat, according to which only a direct descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fáṭima can claim the allegiance of the Faithful, though the spiritual authority of the Imám is in no wise affected by their acceptance or rejection of him. The other extreme is represented by the puritan Khárijites, who used to say that, if they had to choose between one candidate from the noble Arab tribe of Kuraysh and another belonging to the despised Nabathcan race, they would prefer the latter, as less likely to rely on tribal influence and political intrigue to maintain his position.

(2) That even during the short period of the 'Four Orthodox Caliphs' (A.D. 632–661), which is regarded by most orthodox Muslims as the ideal theocracy, and when the Arabs only were concerned, these differences waxed so acute that they culminated in the assassination of three of the four Caliphs and in civil wars which left their permanent impress on the subsequent history of Islám.

to show how it illustrates the feeling of the need of a Pontiff—a divinely appointed ruler. Strictly speaking, according to Muḥammadan law, the Sulṭāns are not Khalīfas, for it is clearly laid down in the Traditions that the Khalīfa (also the Imām) must be of the tribe of the Quraish, to which the Prophet himself belonged. Ibn ‘Umar relates that the Prophet said : ‘The Khalīfas shall be in the Quraish tribe as long as there are two persons in it, one to rule and another to serve.’ ‘It is a necessary condition that the Khalīfa should be of the Quraish tribe.’ Abú Dá’úd says : ‘The Imāms shall be of the Quraish as long as they shall rule and do justice, and promise and fulfil, and pardon is implored of them and they are compassionate.’ At-Tirmídhī quotes from Abú Huraira thus : ‘The sovereignty shall rest in the Quraish.’ Al-Buzzár says : ‘The Princes shall be of the Quraish.’¹ Such quotations might be multiplied, and they tend to show that it is not incumbent on orthodox Sunnis, other than the Turks, to rush to the rescue of the Sulṭán, whilst to the Shí’ahs he is little better than a heretic.²

¹ Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syúṭī, *History of the Khalīfas*, p. 8.

² The usual defence of the claim of the Sulṭán to the office is :—

(1) The right of the sword. The Ottoman ruler Salīm so won it, and his successors hold it till a rival with a better title appears.

(2) Salīm brought with him from Cairo to Constantinople learned men, who, with the ‘Ulamá of the latter city, ratified his assumption of the title. Each new Sulṭán receives in the Mosque of Ayyúb the sword of office from the ‘Ulamá.

(3) The guardianship of the two sacred shrines (Ḥaramain) of Mecca and Madína and of Jerusalem.

(4) The possession of the sacred relics—the cloak of the Prophet, his standard, some hair of his beard, and the sword of the Khalīfa ‘Umar.

The third of these conditions is no longer fulfilled by the Sulṭán of Turkey, since, as the Sharíf of Mecca, the king of the Hijáz holds possession of Mecca and Madína and the British of Jerusalem.

Certainly they would never look upon him as an Imám, which personage is to them in the place of a Khalífa. Yet even in very early days of Islám this claim of the Quraish was questioned, for there was a struggle between two tendencies, the one wishing to spread a spiritual and world-wide religion, the other desired to establish a theocracy under a military oligarchy. The partisans of the first were known as the Khawárij (*ante*, p. 128) and they held that the Khalífa might be of any race or country. On this point they revolted from 'Alí and were mostly killed.¹

In countries not under Turkish rule, the second khutba, or prayer for the ruler, said on Fridays in the mosques, is said for the 'ruler of the age,' or for the Amír, or whatever happens to be the title of the head of the State. Of late years it has become more common in India to say it for the Sultán. This is not, strictly speaking, according to Muḥammadan law, which declares that the khutba can only be said with the permission of the ruler, and as in India that ruler is the British Government, the prayers should be said for the King. Evidently the law never contemplated large bodies of Musalmáns residing anywhere but where the influence of the Khalífa extended.

In thus casting doubt on the legality of the claim made by Turkish Sultáns to the Khalífate of Islám, I do not deny that the Law of Islám requires that there should be a Khalífa. Unfortunately for Islám, there is nothing in its history parallel to the conflict

¹ *Odysseus, Turkey in Europe*, p. 128. See also Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 220.

of Pope and Emperor, of Church and State. In Islám the Khalífa is both Pope and Emperor.¹ It is the bounden duty of the Khalífa to preserve the frontiers of Islám intact; he cannot agree to the session of territory, unless compelled to do so by superior force. After the war in Tripoli, a treaty of peace was made between Italy and Turkey. The first article of the treaty sets forth the full and entire sovereignty of Italy over Libya. It runs thus:—

Turkey on her side neither impugns nor recognizes the sovereignty of Italy. She ignores it, and in that manner avoids offending against the letter of the Qur'án law, which forbids the cession of lands of the Khalífa to the infidel. Italy consents to forego the formal recognition by Turkey, and will be content with procuring a recognition of her new rights from the Powers.

It will be seen that the Khalífa ignores the cession of territory. Italy does not object to this; but both parties understand that Tripoli is now Italian. In this curious way the face of the Khalífa is supposed to be saved.

The difference between the Khalífa and any other ruler is that the former rules according to divine, the latter according to human law. The Prophet in

¹ 'The rule of the Caliphs, was in its ultimate basis, a theocracy; it would submit to no limitations, and the objects which it set before itself, in the conquest of the world to the Faith and the attainment of Paradise by fighting for it, gave no scope for a doctrine of the responsibility of civil rulers, and of duty to the governed' (Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, p. 118) Khairu'd-Dín Pasha's reforms were opposed by the 'Ulamá who declared that 'the Sultán ruled the empire as Khalífa, that he was bound by the Shari'at or sacred law, and that he could not delegate his authority to another.' An Eastern Statesman in the *Contemporary Review*, October 1879, p. 335

transmitting his sacred authority to the Khalífas, his successors, conveyed to them absolute powers. Khalífas can be assassinated, murdered, banished, but so long as they reign anything like constitutional liberty is impossible. It is a fatal mistake in European politics and an evil for Turkey¹ to recognize the Sultán as the legal Khalífa of Islám, for, if he be such, Turkey can never take any step forward to newness of political life.²

There has been from the earliest ages of Islám a mystical movement known as Şúfiism (taşawwuf).³

¹ 'For a long time a number of Muḥammadan States have existed without a common Imám or executive chief, and, in fact, the Islámic conception of a vast Muslim republic must be regarded in the nature of a constitutional ideal towards which some progress was made during the time of the four rightly-guided Caliphs, but which has ever since been supplanted by despotic kingly governments.' *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 385.

² Nothing shows this more plainly than the fatvá pronounced by the Council of the 'Ulamá in July 1879, anent Khairu'd-Din's proposed reform, which would have placed the Sultán in the position of a constitutional sovereign. This was declared to be directly contrary to the law. Thus :—'The law of the Sheri does not authorize the Khalífa to place beside him a power superior to his own. The Khalífa ought to reign alone and govern as master. The Vakils (Ministers) should never possess any authority beyond that of representatives, always dependent and submissive. It would consequently be a transgression of the *unalterable principles of the Sheri, which should be the guide of all the actions of the Khalífa*, to transfer the supreme power of the Khalífa to one Vakil.' This is one of the most important decisions of the jurists of Islám, and it is quite in accordance with all that has been said about Muḥammadan Law. It proves as clearly as possible that so long as the Sultán rules as Khalífa, he must oppose any attempt to set up a constitutional government. There is absolutely no hope of real reform. See also C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Muhammedanism*. pp. 96-106 ; 109-110 ; 121 *et seq.*

³ The various theories as to the origin of Şúfiism are given in Browne's *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 418-21. See also an article on 'The origin and development of Şúfiism' by R. A. Nicholson, *RASJ*, April 1906 : also the introduction to Whinfield's translation of the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* (ed. London, 1880) ; and Sell, *Şúfiism* (C.L.S.), p. 11.

It has been especially prevalent among the Persians. It is a reaction from the burden of a rigid law and a wearisome ritual, a vague protest of the human soul in its longing for a purer creed.¹ It took its rise about the end of the eighth century of the Christian era. One of the earliest mystics was a woman named Rábi'a al-'Adawiyya. The founder of theosophical Šúfiism was Dhu'l-nún al-Mišrī (A.H. 245). The Šúfī values the Qur'án as a divine revelation, but in practice he substitutes the voice of his Pír, or spiritual director, for it. The term Šúfī is most probably derived from the Arabic word Šúfī, or wool, of which material the garments worn by eastern ascetics used to be generally made.² Some persons, however, derive it from the Persian šáf, or pure; or the Greek σοφία, or wisdom. The chief idea in Šúfiism is that the souls of men differ in degree, but not in kind, from the Divine Spirit, of which they are emanations, and to which they will ultimately return. The Spirit of God is in all He has made, and it in Him. He alone is perfect love, beauty, and so love to Him is the only real thing; all else is illusion. The poet Sa'dí says: 'I swear by the truth of God, that when He showed me His glory all else was illusion.' The present life is one of separation from the beloved. The beauties

¹ 'From the earliest times there has been an element in the Muslim church which was repelled equally by traditional teaching and by intellectual reasoning. It felt that the essence of religion lay elsewhere; that the seat and organ of religion was in the heart.' Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islām*, p. 159.

² There is a saying—Labasa's-šúfa—he donned the wool, i.e. he entered a monastic or contemplative life. For further remarks on the meaning and derivation of the term Šúfī see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 417-8.

of nature, music, and art revive in men the divine idea, and recall their affections from wandering from Him to other objects. These sublime affections men must cherish, and by abstraction concentrate their thoughts on God, and so approximate to His essence, and finally reach the highest stage of bliss—absorption into the Eternal. The true end and object of human life is to lose all consciousness of individual existence, to sink ‘in the ocean of divine life, as a breaking bubble is merged into the stream on the surface of which it has for a moment risen.’

Sweep off the life of Ḥáfiz like a dream,
Whilst Thou art, none shall hear me say, ‘I am.’

The way in which Ṣúfís gain inspiration (ilhám) is thus described. They must put away all thoughts of worldly things, of home, family, and country, and so arrive at the state in which the existence or non-existence of things is all the same. Then in retirement, engaged in serving and praising God, the Ṣúfí must cast away all thoughts save of Him. Even the reading of the Qur’án, the Traditions, and commentaries may be set aside. ‘Let him in seclusion, with collectedness of heart, repeat the word Alláh, Alláh, so often that at last the word involuntarily passes from his lips. Then ceasing to speak, let him utter the word mentally, until even the word is forgotten and the meaning only remains in the heart; then will God enlighten his mind.’ The difference between an ordinary Muslim and a Ṣúfí is said to be that the former has only a counterfeit faith or that faith which he accepts on the authority of his forefathers and his teachers, without really

knowing how essential true belief in the creed of Islám is for his salvation. The Şúfí, on the other hand, is said to search for the origin of religious dogmas. Many spend years in the search and miss it after all, for only those of them who perfectly subject themselves to the Murshid, as their spiritual director, find the reality of things and finally arrive at a fully established faith.

The habit of speaking of forbidden things as if they were lawful, such as wine, wine-shops, wine-cups, and the frequent references to sweethearts, curls of the mistress, and other descriptions of the beauty of the beloved, are thus explained. The Şúfís look at the internal features of things, exchange the corporeal for the spiritual, and thus to outward forms give an imaginary signification. By wine they mean the love of God; the wine-shop is the excellent preceptor, to whom a strong spiritual attachment is formed. The ringlets of the beloved are the praises of the preceptor, which bind the heart and affections of the disciple to him. In a similar way some mystical meaning is attached to all other descriptions of a more or less amatory nature.

Şúfís suppose that long before the creation of the world a contract was made by the Supreme Soul with the assembled world of spirits, who are parts of it. Each spirit was addressed separately thus : ' Art thou not with thy Lord ? ' that is, bound to him by a solemn contract. To this they all answered with one voice, ' Yes.'

The principle underlying the Şúfí system is that sense and reason cannot transcend phenomena, or see the real being which underlies them all; so sense

and reason must be ignored in favour of the 'inner light,' the divine illumination in the heart, which is the only faculty whereby men perceive the Infinite. Thus when enlightened, they see that all external phenomena, including man, is but an illusion, and as it is 'non-existent, it is an evil because it is a departure from the one real being.' The one great duty of man is now plain; it is to cast off the 'not being,' to die to self, to live in this 'being.' He must live in God, and 'break through the one-ness.' 'In addition to reason, man has a certain faculty (ṭaur) whereby he perceives hidden mysteries.'² 'This faculty is the inner light, the intuition which, under certain conditions, conveys to him a knowledge of God by direct apprehension in a manner similar to the evidences of the senses.'³

In support of their favourite dogma—the attaining to the knowledge of God—Šúfís quote the verse : 'When God said to the angels, "I am about to place a vicegerent on the earth," they said, "Wilt Thou place therein one who shall commit abomination and shed blood? Nay; we celebrate Thy praise and holiness." God answered them, "Verily

¹ 'God, in short, is Pure Being, and what is "other than God" (má siwá'u'lláh) only exists so far as His Being is infused into it, or mirrored in it.' Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 438.

² *Gulshan-i-Ráz* (ed. London, 1880), p. 44

³ The great divergence between the western and eastern modes of religious thought has been well described thus: 'Here it is the ideas of faith and righteousness (in different proportions, it is true) which are regarded as the essentials of religion; there it is knowledge and mystery. Here religion is regarded as a rule by which to live and a hope wherein to die; there as a key to unlock the spiritual and material universe. Here it is associated with work and charity; there with rest and wisdom. Here a creed is admired for its simplicity; there for its complexity.' Browne, *RASJ*, January, 1898, p. 88.

I know that ye wot not of." ' [Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 28.] They say that this verse proves that, though the great mass of mankind would commit abomination, some would receive the divine light and attain to a knowledge of God. Šúfís also claim as on their side the following verse : ' Then found they one of Our servants to whom we had vouchsafed Our mercy, *and whom We had instructed with Our knowledge* ' (xviii. 64). A Tradition states that David said, ' O Lord ! why hast thou created mankind ? ' God replied, ' I am a hidden treasure, and I would fain become known.' The business of the mystic is to find this treasure, to attain to the divine light and the true knowledge of God. The Šúfís are divided into those who claim to be the Ilhámíyah, or those inspired by God, and the Ittiḥádiyah, or those in union with God.

The earlier Muḥammadan mystics sought to impart life to a rigid and formal ritual, and though the seeds of pantheism were planted in their system from the first, they maintained that they were orthodox. ' Our system of doctrine,' says al-Junaid, ' is firmly bound up with the dogmas of the Faith, the Qur'án, and the Traditions.' There was a moral earnestness about many of these men which frequently restrained the arm of unrighteous power, and their sayings, often full of beauty, show that they had the power of appreciating the spiritual side of life. Some of these sentences¹ are worthy of any age. ' As neither meat nor drink, profit the diseased body, so no warning avails to touch the

¹ For other sayings of a similar nature see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 425-6, and Nicholson. *RASJ*, April. 1906, pp. 331-48

heart full of the love of this world.' 'The work of the holy man doth not consist in this, that he eats grain and clothes himself in wool, but in the knowledge of God and submission to His will.' 'Thou deservest not the name of a learned man, until thy heart is emptied of the love of this world.' 'Hide thy good deeds as closely as thou wouldst hide thy sins.'

A famous mystic was brought into the presence of the Khalífa Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, who said to him, 'How great is thy abnegation?' He replied, 'Thine is greater.' 'How so?' said the Khalífa. 'Because I make abnegation of this world, and thou makest abnegation of the next.' The same man also said, 'The display of devotional works to please men is hypocrisy, and acts of devotion done to please men are acts of polytheism.'

Even in a book like the *Mathnaví* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, in which Šúfiism pure and simple, with all its disregard for the outward restraints of an objective revelation, is inculcated, the author now and again teaches sounder principles. Thus, in Redhouse's translation, we read :—

To trust in God, and yet put forth our utmost skill,
The surest method is to work His' holy will :
The friend of God must work.

Exert thyself, O man ! put shoulder to the wheel,
The prophets and the saints to imitate in zeal.

Exertion's not a struggle against Providence :
'Twas Providence enjoined it—made it our defence.

But towards the close of the second century of the Hijra this earlier mysticism developed into Šúfiism. A little later on, Manşúru'l-Halláj taught in Bagh-

dád thus : ‘ I am God (al-Ḥaqq). There is nought in Paradise but God. I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I ; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest Him ; and when thou seest Him, thou seest me.’ This roused the opposition of the orthodox divines, by whom al-Ḥalláj was condemned to be worthy of death. He was then, by order of the Khalífa, flogged, tortured, and finally beheaded (A.D. 922).’ Thus died one of the early martyrs of Šúfiism ; but it grew in spite of bitter persecution. In the *Mathnaví* (Book ii) it is said : ‘ The assertion, “ I am God ” on the lips of Manşúr was the light (of truth).’ The Šúfí interpretation is that Manşúr’s attributes and essence became so merged in those of God that his separate existence was annihilated and that he lived eternally by and as God. The Šúfís admit Manşúr’s claim, but consider that he was unwise to announce it so openly.

In order to understand the esoteric teaching of Šúfiistic poetry, it is necessary to remember that the perceptive sense is the traveller, the knowledge of God the goal ; the doctrines of this ascent or upward progress is the *ṭaríqat*, or the road. The extinction of self is necessary before any progress can be made on that road. A Šúfí poet writes :—

Plant one foot upon the neck of self,
The other in thy Friend’s domain ;
In everything His presence see,
For other vision is in vain.

¹ For an interesting account of al-Ḥalláj, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 430–5.

Sa'dí in the *Bustán* says : ' Art thou a friend of God ? Speak not of self, for to speak of God and of self is infidelity.' Shaikh Abú'l-Faïd, a great poet and a friend of the Emperor Akbar, from whom he received the honourable title of Málíku'sh-Shu'ará (Master of the Poets), says : ' Those who have not closed the door on existence and non-existence reap no advantage from the calm of this world and of the world to come.' *Khusrau*, another well-known poet, says :—

I have become Thou : Thou art become I,
 I am the body, Thou the soul ;
 Let no one henceforth say
 That I am distinct from Thee, and Thou from me.

The fact is, that Persian poetry is almost entirely Şúfiistic. Pantheistic doctrines are largely inculcated.¹ Thus :—

I was, ere a name had been named upon earth ;
 Ere one trace yet existed of aught that has birth ;
 When the locks of the Loved One streamed forth for a
 sign,
 And Being was none, save the Presence Divine !
 Named and name were alike emanations from Me,
 Ere aught that was ' I ' existed, or ' We '.

The poet then describes his fruitless search for rest and peace in Christianity, Hinduism, and the

¹ ' The spiritualism of the Şúfis, though it seems the contrary of materialism, is really identical with it ; but if their doctrine is not more reasonable, it is at least more elevated and more thoughtful.' *Poésie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans*, par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 2.

religion of the Parsee. Even Islám gave him no satisfaction, for :—

Nor above nor beneath came the Loved One to view,
I toiled to the summit, wild, pathless, and lone,
Of the globe-girding Káf : —but the 'Anka had flown!
The sev'nth heaven I traversed--the sev'nth heaven
explored,

But in neither discern'd I the court of the Lord !
I question'd the Pen and the Tablet of Fate,
But they whisper'd not where He pavilions His state ;
My vision I strain'd ; but my God-scanning eye
No trace that to Godhead belongs could descry.
My glance I bent inward ; within my own breast,
Lo, the vainly sought elsewhere, the Godhead
confess'd !

In the whirl of its transport my spirit was toss'd,
Till each atom of separate being I lost.

These are the words of the greatest authority among the Şúfis, Maulána Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, founder of the order of the Mauláwiyya Darwishes. He also relates the following story : ' One knocked at the door of the beloved, and a voice from within said : " Who is there ? Is this a threshing-floor ? " Then he answered, " It is I. " The voice replied, " This house will not hold me and thee ! " So the door remained shut. The lover retired to a wilderness, and spent some time in solitude, fasting, and prayer. One year elapsed, when he again returned and knocked at the door. " Who is there ? " said the voice. ' The lover answered, " It is thou. " Then the door was opened. '

Another form of the same story, given by Red-house, is :—

Within the question's heard, ' Who knocks at my street door ? '

He answered, ' Thy second self, though all too poor.'

The invitation followed, ' Let myself walk in ;

My cot's too small for two selves to find room therein.

The thread's not double in a needle's single eye,

As thou'rt now single, enter ; room thou'lt find ; pray try.'

The great object of life is to escape from the hindrances to pure love and to return to the divine essence. In order to reach this higher stage of existence, the Tálíb, or seeker, attaches himself to a Murshid, or teacher. If he prosecutes his studies according to Šúfistic methods, he now often enters one of the many Orders of Darwishes. After due preparation under his Murshid, he becomes a Sálík, or traveller, whose business henceforth is súlúk, or devotion to one idea, the knowledge of God. In this road there are eight stages :—(1) Service ('abúdiyat). Here he must serve God and obey the Law, for he is still in bondage. (2) Love ('ishq). It is supposed that now the divine influence has so attracted his soul that he really loves God. (3) Seclusion (zuhd). Love having expelled all worldly desires, he arrives at this stage, and passes his time in meditation on the deeper doctrines of Šúfíism regarding the divine nature. (4) Knowledge (ma'rifat). The meditation in the preceding stage, and the investigation of the metaphysical theories concerning God, His nature, His attributes, and the like, make him an 'Árif—one who knows. (5) Ecstasy (wajd or hál). The mental excitement

caused by such continued meditation on abstruse subjects produces a kind of frenzy, which is looked upon as a mark of direct illumination of the heart from God. Arrival at this stage is highly valued, for it is the certain entrance to the next.

Amazement fell upon him, stupor bathed each sense,
Ecstatic trance then followed, earth and sky flew hence;
Such ecstasy, such words, beyond all mood and tense,
Immersion total in God's glorious effulgence.

The next stage (6) is the Truth (*ḥaqīqat*). The true nature of God is revealed to the traveller, who now learns the reality of that for which he has so long been seeking. This admits him to the highest stage in his long journey. (7) That stage is union with God (*waṣl*).

There was a door to which I found no key ;
There was a veil past which I could not see :
Some little talk of Me and Thee
There seemed—and then no more of Thee and Me.

He cannot, in this life, go beyond that, and very few reach that exalted stage. *Jalālu'd-Dīn*¹ considers that prophets do reach this stage, for, as Redhouse translates it :—

God is invisible to weakly mortal sight ;
His prophets are a need, to guide His Church aright.
No ! that's not right ; the phrase is sadly incorrect ;
A prophet's one with God, not two : think well, reflect,
They are not two, they are one. Then, blind materialist,
With God they're one ; their forms but make Him manifest.

¹ *Mathnawi*, Book 1.

Thus arose a pantheistic system in which grief and joy, the bad and the good, pain and pleasure are all manifestations of the one essence which changes not. Religion, as made known by an outward revelation, is, to the few who reach this stage, a thing of the past. Even its restraints are not needed. The soul that is united to God can do no evil. It is only so long as the soul is apart from God, only so long as there is a distinct personality embracing evil as well as good tendencies, that the Law is needed. Thus in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz* we read :—

All the authority of the Law is over this ' I ' of yours,
 Since that is bound to your soul and body ;
 When ' I ' and ' you ' remain not in the midst,
 What is mosque, what is synagogue, what is fire-
 temple ?

Death ensues, and with it the last stage is reached. (8) It is extinction (*faná*).¹ The seeker after all his search, the traveller after all his wearisome journey, passes behind the veil and finds—nothing! As the traveller proceeds from stage to stage, the restraints of an objective revelation and of an outward system are less and less heeded. Ecclesiastical forms cease to be of value, the historical facts of religion lose their importance when the mystic has entered into immediate communication with God. What law can bind the soul in union with God, what outward system impose any trammels on

¹ This is annihilation in God (*faná fi'lláh*). This seems to have been a later development of *Şúffism*, due to the influence of Bayazíd of Bisátám. (Nicholson, *RASJ*, April, 1906, pp. 325-7.) ' Absorption in the Deity, the merging of the individual soul of the saint in the universal soul of God, is the ultimate aim of *Şúffism*.' Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 63.

one who, in the ecstasy, has received from Him who is the Truth, the direct revelation of His own glorious nature? Moral laws and ceremonial observances have only an allegorical signification. Creeds are but fetters cunningly devised to limit the flight of the soul; all that is objective in religion is a restraint to the reason of the initiated.¹

The traveller on the mystic path finds much aid from three things: attraction (*injadháb*), devotion (*'ibádat*), elevation (*'uruj*). When the grace of God enters the heart the man is attracted towards God. He should then renounce everything which hinders his being drawn Godward?; he must forget all else but God. He is now called the attracted (*majdhúb*). Others use further aids for development. They pass their time in introspection and devotion. They are called the 'devoutly attracted' (*majdhúbu's-sálik*). All teachers of Šúfiism should be of this rank at least. The third aid, elevation, seems to mean steady progress in the upward path. The journey *to* God is completed when all existence save that of God is denied; then commences the journey *in* God, when all the mysteries of nature are made plain and clear. In due time God guideth whom He pleaseth to His own light—the divine light of His own nature. Now the progress is complete, for 'from Him they spring and unto Him they return.'

Dogmatic religion is compared by Jalálu'd-Dín to water used for the purposes of a mill; after it has

¹ 'They think that the Bible and the Qur'án were written solely for the man who is content with the appearance of things, who concerns himself with the exterior only, for the *Žuhúr* parast, as they call him, and not for the Šúfí, who plumbs the depth of things.' M. Garcin de Tassy, *La Poésie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans*, p. 13.

turned the wheel it is of no further use, and may now be rejected. So to the Şúfí the orthodox dogmas and the outward forms of religion carry no authority.

In interpreting the mystical poems of Háfiz and other Şúfiistic writers, it must be borne in mind that the point of view from which they discuss their views is generally the second stage ('ishq), in which the traveller is supposed to have attained to the love of God.

Pantheistic in creed, and too often antinomian in practice, Şúfiism possesses no regenerative power in Islám. No Muslim State makes a national profession of Şúfiism. The general result has worked for evil in Islám. The divorce between the 'religious' life and the worldly life has been disastrous. Şúfiism has separated between those who by renouncing the world profess to know God, and those whom it terms the ignorant herd, who may nevertheless have been striving to do their duty in their daily lives and avocations. When man's apparent individuality is looked upon as a delusion of the perceptive faculty, there seems no room left for will or conscience. Profligate persons may become Darwishes and cover a licentious life by pious phrases ; emancipated from ritual order and law, they seem free also from moral restraints. The movement may have been animated at its outset by a high and lofty purpose, but it has degenerated into a fruitful source of ill.

In spite of much that is sublime in its idea of the search after light and truth, Şúfiism ends in utter negation of all separate existence. The pantheism of the Şúfís, this esoteric doctrine of Islám, as a

moral doctrine leads to the same conclusions as materialism, 'the negation of human liberty, the indifference to actions, and the legitimacy of all temporal enjoyments.' This is plainly stated by Jalálu'd-Dín, who says that the registers of good and bad deeds are not to be examined in the case of holy men.¹

The result of Şúfiism has been the establishment of a large number of religious Orders known as Darwishes, which form the nearest approach to an ecclesiastical organization in Islám. These men are looked upon with disfavour by the orthodox, but they flourish nevertheless, and in Turkey, Morocco, Central Africa and the Súdán at the present day have great influence. The activity of the more important of these Orders, especially that of the Sanúsiyya, has been great in modern times, and, whether viewed from the political or the religious standpoint, is a source of danger in Central Africa and the Súdáns. I have dealt with this subject very fully in my work on *The Religious Orders of Islám*, in which I give an account of all the more important Orders, describe their methods of working and state the results of their present activity. Each Order of Darwishes has its own special mysteries and practices, by which its members think they can obtain a knowledge of the secrets of the invisible world. The main religious

¹ *Mathnavi*, Book 1, Tale xii, lines 38-41. The registers referred to are the 'Book of Actions,' to be placed in the hands of all at the judgment-day. If placed in the right hand, the man is saved; if in the left, he is lost; but according to the teaching of the Şúfis no inquiry is made into the conduct of saints.

ceremony is called a dhikr.¹ This exercise in the quietness of a záwiya, or monastery, may create religious emotion and be a help to the more spiritually minded men, yet such manifestations of emotion as the dhikr evokes have a real danger and too often lead to hypocrisy and self-delusion. The Darwishes are called Faqírs—poor men, not, however, always in the sense of being in temporal want, but as being poor in the sight of God. As a matter of fact, the Darwishes of many of the Orders do not beg, and many of the takyas,² or monasteries, are richly endowed. They are divided into two great classes, the Ba Shara' (with the Law) Darwishes, and the Bí Shara' (without the Law). The former profess to rule their conduct according to the law of Islám, and are called the sálik, travellers on the path (ṭaríqat) to heaven ; the latter, though they call themselves Muslims, do not conform to the law, and are called ázád (free), or majdhúb (abstracted), a term which signifies their renunciation of all worldly cares and pursuits. The latter do not even pay attention to the namáz or other observances of Islám. What little hope there is of these professedly religious men working any reform in Islám will be seen from the following account of their doctrines.³

1. God only exists—He is in all things, and all things are in Him. 'Verily we are *from* God, and *to* Him shall we return' (ii. 151).

¹ For a full description, of a dhikr see Sell, *The Religious Orders of Islám* (C.L.S.), pp. 32-4.

² These are also called záwiyas.

³ *La Poésie Philosophique et Religieuse chez les Persans*, par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 7.

2. All visible and invisible beings are an emanation from Him, and are not really distinct from Him.

3. Paradise and hell, and all the dogmas of positive religions, are only so many allegories, the spirit of which is only known to the Šúfí.

4. Religions are matters of indifference ; they, however, serve as a means of reaching to realities. Some, for this purpose, are more advantageous than others. Among which is the Musalmán religion, of which the doctrine of the Šúfís is the philosophy.¹

5. There is not any real difference between good and evil, for all is reduced to unity, and God is the real author of the acts of mankind.

6. It is God who fixes the will of man. Man, therefore, is not free in his actions.

7. The soul existed before the body, and is now confined within it as in a cage. At death the soul returns to the Divinity from which it emanated.

8. The principle occupation of the Šúfí is to meditate on the Unity, and so to attain to spiritual perfection—unification with God.

9. Without the grace of God no one can attain to this Unity ; but God does not refuse His aid to those who are in the right path.

The power of a Shaikh, the religious and secular head of an Order, is very great. The following account of the admission of a novice, called Tawakul Beg, into an Order, and of the severe tests

¹ ' These (Šúfí) philosophers were far from believing with Muḥammad and his real followers, that God had revealed the truth in a "plain book." For them the righteous man is not so much a believer as a seeker after truth, and his life a journey through several stages of which the last is absorptive into the Deity.' *Odysseus, Turkey in Europe*, p. 193.

applied, will be of some interest.¹ Tawakkul Beg says :—

‘ Having been introduced by Akhúnd Mullá Muḥammad to Shaikh Mullá Sháh,² my heart, through frequent intercourse with him, was filled with such a burning desire to arrive at a true knowledge of the mystical science that I found no sleep by night nor rest by day. When the initiation commenced, I passed the whole night without sleep, and repeated innumerable times the Súratu’l-Ikhlás :—

Say : He is God alone,
 God the eternal :
 He begetteth not, and He is not begotten ;
 And there is none like unto Him. (cxii.)

‘ Whosoever repeats this Súra one hundred times can accomplish all his vows. I desired that the Shaikh should bestow on me his love. No sooner had I finished my task than the heart of the Shaikh became full of sympathy for me. On the following night I was conducted to his presence. During the whole of that night he concentrated his thoughts on me, whilst I gave myself up to inward meditation. Three nights passed in this way. On the fourth night the Shaikh said, “ Let Mullá Senghim and Şálîḥ Beg, who are very susceptible to ecstatic emotions, apply their spiritual energies to Tawakkul Beg.” They did so, whilst I passed the whole night in meditation, with my face turned toward

¹ Tawakkul Beg, *Šūfī doctrines of the Mullá Sháh*, *Journal Asiatique*, tome 13.

² Shaikh Mullá Sháh, born A.D. 1554, was educated at Lahore. He joined the Qádiriyya Darwishes.

Mecca. As the morning drew near, a little light came into my mind, but I could not distinguish form or colour. After the morning prayers I was taken to the Shaikh, who bade me inform him of my mental state. I replied that I had seen a light with my inward eye. On hearing this, the Shaikh became animated and said : “ Thy heart is dark, but the time is come when I will show myself clearly to thee.” He then ordered me to sit down in front of him, and to impress his features on my mind. Then, having blindfolded me, he ordered me to concentrate all my thoughts upon him. I did so, and in an instant, by the spiritual help of the Shaikh, my heart opened. He asked me what I saw. I said that I saw another Tawakkul Beg and another Mullá Sháh. The bandage was then removed, and I saw the Shaikh in front of me. Again they covered my face, and again I saw him with my inward eye. Astonished, I cried, “ O master ! whether I look with my bodily eye or with my spiritual sight, it is always you I see.” I then saw a dazzling figure approach me. The Shaikh told me to say to the apparition, “ What is your name.” In my spirit, I put the question, and the figure answered to my heart, “ I am ‘Abdu’l-Qádir Jilání ; I have already aided thee ; thy heart is opened.” Much affected, I vowed that in honour of the saint I would repeat the whole Qur’án every Friday night.

‘Mullá Shah then said, “ The spiritual world has been shown to thee in all its beauty.” I then rendered perfect obedience to the Shaikh. The following day I saw the Prophet, the chief Companions,

and legions of saints and angels. After three months, I entered the cheerless region in which the figures appeared no more. During the whole of this time, the Shaikh continued to explain to me the mystery of the doctrine of the Unity and of the knowledge of God ; but as yet he did not show me the absolute reality. It was not until a year had passed that I arrived at the true conception of unity. Then in words such as these I told the Shaikh of my inspiration : “ I look upon the body as only dust and water ; I regard neither my heart nor my soul ; alas ! that in separation from Thee (God) so much of my life has passed. Thou wert I and I knew it not.” The Shaikh was delighted, and said that the truth of the union with God was now clearly revealed to me. Then addressing those that were present, he said: “ Tawakkul Beg learnt from me the doctrine of the Unity ; his inward eye has been opened, the sphere of colours and of images have been shown to him. At length he entered the colourless region. He has now attained to the Unity, doubt and scepticism henceforth have no power over him. No one sees the Unity with the outward eye till the inward eye gains strength and power. ” ”

The late Rev. Dr. Imádu'd-Dín in his autobiography has described how, in his search after truth, which finally led him to embrace Christianity, he passed through a somewhat similar stage. He says: ‘ I used to shut my eyes and sit in retirement, seeking by thinking on the name of God to write it on my heart. I constantly sat on the graves of holy men, in hopes that by contemplation I might receive

some revelation from the tombs. I went and sat in the assemblies of the elders, and hoped to receive grace by gazing on the face of the Şúfís. I used to take my petitions with joy to the shrine of Qalandar Bo 'Alí, and to the threshold of the saint Nizámu'd-Dín. I sought for union with God from travellers and from faqírs, and even from the insane, according to the tenets of the Şúfí mystics.' He then describes how his director gave him a mystical book which contained the sum of everlasting happiness, and how he followed the instructions given. He sat on one knee by the side of a flowing stream for twelve days in perfect solitude, fasting and repeating a certain form of devotion thirty times a day. He wrote the name of God thousands of times on paper, wrapped each piece on which the name was written in a small ball of flour, and fed the fishes of the river with them. Half of each night he sat up and meditated on the name of God, and saw Him with the eye of thought. But all this left him agitated and restless for some years, until, having turned towards the Christian religion, he was able to say, 'Since my entrance into the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, I have had great peace in my soul.'

In a rigid system of religion reform can be obtained only in one of two ways ; either by the influence of liberal thought, or by the inner light of mysticism. In Islám the latter has been the most enduring. The logical liberalism failed with the Muta'zilís ; mysticism remains still with the great Darwísh Orders.

Before passing from this branch of our subject, we may say something about 'Umar Khayyám, who,

if not a Šúfí, had much in common with Šúfiism. About seven centuries and a half ago, three lads, each destined to become famous, were playfellows in the city of Naishápúr, the capital of Khurásán. The story ¹ goes that the three lads made a compact to the effect that the one who first arrived at a position of eminence should use his influence on behalf of the other two. Nizámu'l-Mulk, who became, in due course, the Vizier of Alp Arslan and of Málik Sháh, had the privilege of fulfilling the engagement, and this he did most loyally. At his request, his former schoolfellow, Ḥasan bin Šabbāḥ, was appointed to an office in the administration of the Sulṭān's dominions ; but being dissatisfied on account of the slowness of his promotion, he commenced to intrigue against his benefactor and was finally disgraced. After many adventures he became the founder of the sect of the Assassins. His fortress was the castle of Alamút, situated in the mountainous tract south of the Caspian Sea. He is known in accounts of the Crusades by the name of 'Old Man of the Mountains.' Nizámu'l-Mulk fell a victim to an assassin's dagger.

The third lad was 'Umar Khayyām. Nizámu'l-Mulk wished him to remain at the court of the Sulṭān, but this he declined to do. 'The greatest boon,' said he, 'you can confer on me is to let me live in a corner under the shadow of your fortune, to spread wide the advantages of science, and to pray for your long life and prosperity.' His

¹ For a discussion as to the genuineness of this story, see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 190-3.

request was agreed to, and a small pension was granted to him. In the reign of Málík Sháh he was appointed, in conjunction with seven other learned men, to the work of reforming the Calendar. The result of their labours is known as the Jaláli Era, of which Gibbon says, 'It is a computation of time which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.' 'Umar Khayyam also compiled the astronomical tables called Zīj-i-Máliksháhi, and wrote a treatise on Algebra. The Sultán Málík Sháh esteemed him highly for his scientific attainments and showered favours upon him.

There are few books more attractive, though none more sad, than the *Rubá'iyát* of 'Umar Khayyam.¹ The scathing sarcasm, the wit and the vigour of the expressions, the possible esoteric teaching of many verses, the utter despair and despondency which runs through the whole, render this short poem unique of its kind. It possesses a special interest for all students of human thought and life, for it shows how a man, learned in his day, found no abiding consolation in scientific researches, no rest in the pantheism of the Šufí, no satisfaction in the sterner creed of his orthodox Muslim friends, and no peace whatever in a cynical rejection of religious

¹ The term Rubá'í is used for a quatrain in which the first, second, and fourth lines always rhyme, and sometimes the third as well. Rubá'iyát means a collection of such quatrains in one poem. No edition, so far as I know, contains more than two hundred and fifty-three verses. Khayyam is the takhalluṣ, or *nom de plume* of the poet, and literally means tent-maker. 'Umar's European reputation is largely due to Fitzgerald's brilliant paraphrase of the *Rábi'yát*. In Persia it rests more upon his scientific work than on his skill as a poet.

belief. He was a bold brave man, and gave free utterance to his thoughts. It is said that Şúfís hated him, but later poets have used his figures of speech in a mystical sense, and some have claimed him as a Şúfi. This he is not. The scorn for external rites shown by the Şúfí is one way of declaring his belief that all existence is illusion, but he has no intention of destroying all religious feeling. The amorous language of the mystic is meant to be devout. ‘Umar Khayyám, on the other hand, uses Şúfí language, but only to show his contempt for orthodoxy and his own epicurean tastes. The Şúfí does believe something. ‘Umar Khayyám believed nothing and was a saddened man. This is the great lesson the *Rubá‘iyát* teaches us. Unbelief in the twelfth, as in the twentieth century, could give no peace, no settled calm to the restless soul of an earnest, thoughtful man. In order to appreciate the beauty of the *Rubá‘iyát* we must remember that the author was a man utterly wearied with the religious conflicts of his day and the hollowness of many professors of religion, a man who turned from all in blank despair, and who, finding no Gospel to direct him to the Light of the World, fell into utter darkness.

There is no definite order or arrangement in the poem, and ‘Umar’s views must be gathered here and there. ‘Umar is looked upon as a Şúfí by some, as a mere epicurean by others, who speak of his views as ‘*rindána madhhab*,’ or licentious religion. The latter are probably correct, though perhaps ‘Umar only came to be such, when he failed to satisfy the cravings of his nature for higher truth. However,

we may first notice some of the quatrains, or verses on which some Şúfís base their claim to him.¹

Once and again my soul did me implore
To teach her, if I might, the inspired lore :
I bade her learn the Alif well by heart ;
Who knows that letter well need learn no more.

The letter alif, the first letter of the alphabet, is used in the numerical notation called abjad to represent the number one, and so 'to know the alif' is a figurative expression meaning to know God as the One, the sole existent Being. It is a common expression amongst Şúfí poets. Thus Háfız says:—

My loved one's alif form stamps all my thought,
Save that, what letter has my master taught ?

That is, he who knows the God as One knows all—he needs no other teaching.

A belief in the Unity is supposed to cover a multitude of sins:—

Khayyám strings not the fair pearls of good deeds,
Nor sweeps from off his soul sin's noisome weeds ;
Nevertheless he humbly hopes for grace,
Seeing that One as two he ne'er misreads.

It is possible that 'Umar Khayyám is here speaking satirically. Anyhow, it is good Şúfí doctrine. The doctrine of the tauhíd is the central dogma of Islám. In ordinary language it means 'there is no god but God,' but in the mystical language of the Şúfís it

¹ Many of the verses in the *Rubá'iyát* are now attributed to other poets. The result of a critical investigation is that 'while it is certain that 'Umar Khayyám wrote many quatrains, it is hardly possible, save in a few exceptional cases, to assert positively that he wrote any particular one of those ascribed to him.' Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 256-7.

means 'there is no Being—no real existence—but God.' Everything else but God is phenomenal and non-existent. Thus 'One as two he ne'er misreads,' means that he looks on all else but God as illusion.

The final goal of all Şúfí aspirations is absorption in God, and this 'Umar seems to teach in:—

O Soul! when on the Loved one's sweets to feed
You lose your *self*, yet find your *self* indeed;
And when you drink of His entrancing cup,
You hasten your escape from quick and dead.

'To die to self, to live eternally in God,' is the mystic doctrine round which the Şúfí system professedly gathers, though it is not so much life *in* God, as faná, or extinction, which leads the Muríd (disciple) on stage after stage in the mystic journey until the end is reached, and the phenomenal 'Not-being' is lost for ever in the Eternal 'Being.' This belief in the illusion of phenomena is described by 'Umar thus:—

The drop wept for his severance from the sea,
But the sea smiled, for, 'I am all,' said he,
'And naught exists outside my unity,
My one point circling apes plurality.'

The 'one point' is the 'Being.' It is not easy to get much sense out of the last line as it stands here, but some light is thrown upon it by a somewhat similar statement in the *Gulshan-i-Ráz*:—

Go! whirl round one spark of fire,
And from its quick motion you will see a circle.

The circle is not real, it is phenomenal, and thus the 'point circling apes plurality;' and, after all, the sole existence is the 'one point.' The Şúfí does

not trouble himself much with creeds and confessions. He has little faith in systems of religion. If what he deems 'The Truth' is known, he cares very little about an objective revelation or an ecclesiastical system. If earth and all it contains are an illusion, so also, he considers, heaven and hell may be. Such notions may be needed for those weaker souls who in Jewish synagogue or Christian cloister or Muslim mosque need an outward law as a restraint and a guide, but for the Illuminated all these things are worthless:—

In synagogue and cloister, mosque and school,
Hell's terrors and heaven's lures men's bosoms rule ;
But they who pierce the secrets of the ' Truth,'
Sow not such empty chaff their hearts to fool.

Even fate has no objective existence:—

Pen, tablet, heaven, and hell I looked to see
Above the skies from all eternity ;
At last the Master sage instructed me
' Pen, tablet, heaven, and hell are all in thee.'

Thus far 'Umar is Şúfíistic, but yet he is not a Şúfí. There is a certain calm in the life of the Şúfí to which 'Umar never attains. He is full of despair, in spite of the rollicking mood in which many verses are written. Life is not worth having, not worth living:—

I never would have come, had I been asked ;
I would as lief not go, if I were asked ;
And, to be short, I would annihilate
All coming, being, going, were I asked.

'Umar was, in reality, a fatalist. His training as a youth in the orthodox school under Imám Muaffiq would naturally produce this result. Neither his

scientific studies, nor the lighter ones of literature, seem to have led him to a brighter view of the universe:—

The 'tablet' all our fortune doth contain,
 Writ by the 'pen' that heeds not bliss nor bane;
 'Twas writ at first whatever was to be,
 To grieve or strive is labour all in vain.
 We are but chessmen, who to move are fain
 Just as the great Chess-player doth ordain;
 He moves us on life's chess-board too and fro,
 And then in Death's box shuts us up again.¹

So he gives it all up. It is useless to contend against irresistible decrees. It is useless to grieve over it, so :—

(O heart! this world is but a fleeting show,
 Why let its empty griefs distress thee so?
 Bear up and face thy fate; the eternal pen
 Will not unwrite his roll for thee, I trow.
 (O Soul, so soon to leave this soil below,
 And pass the dread mysterious curtain through,
 Be of good cheer, and joy you while you may,
 You wot not whence you come, nor whither go.

The result is that all sense of personal responsibility to a personal God is lost. Good and evil are matters of indifference to the fatalist. The restraint of a moral law is taken away. The man simply follows his own desires, and casts the blame of the result on God.

Khayyám, why weep you that your life is bad?
 What boots it thus to mourn? Rather be glad;
 He that sins not, no title makes to grace;
 Sin entails grace, then prithee why so sad?

¹ Most of these verses from the *Rubd'iydt* of 'Umar *Khayyám* are taken, with permission, from an excellent translation by Whinfield (*Trübner's Oriental Series*).

A recent Muslim commentator on the *Rubá'iyát* explains this last line by quoting, as a well-known saying, the words 'Mustahaqq-i-karámat gunáhgárán and '—'Sinners are those who have a right to favour.'

To eat, drink, and be merry is 'Umar's real creed. Any aspirations he may at one time have had after higher and better things are destroyed. The constant teaching of the *Rubá'iyát* is—indulge the senses and let the future go, or, as 'Umar puts it, 'nor cash in hand for promised credit sell.' A revel with boon companions is the true joy:—

We make the wine jar's lip our place of prayer,
And drink in lessons of true manhood there,

And paßs our lives in taverns, if perchance
The time mis-spent in mosques we may repair.

To drain the cup, to hover round the fair
Can hypocritic arts with these compare ?

If all who love and drink are going wrong,
'There's many a wight of heaven may well despair.

Come fill the cup, and in the fire of spring
Your winter garment of repentance fling ;

The bird of time has but a little way
To flutter—and the bird is on the wing.

'Those who look upon 'Umar as a Şúfí, refer to his constant reference to wine and say he uses it in the mystical sense; others hold that his praises of wine are simply to show the stress he lays on mortal gladness and to cast into the shade the inevitable end which though feared should now be disregarded. He glorifies the present and the real, in order to deaden the anticipation of the future and the unseen.

To those who hold out future joys in Paradise for orthodox belief and right conduct here, the answer is ready to the effect that cash payments are better than credit accounts:—

They preach how sweet these Húrí brides will be,
But look you, so is wine sweet, taste and see ;
Hold fast this cash, and let the credit be,
And shun the din of empty drums with me.

No one can accuse 'Umar Khayyám of not having the courage of his opinions. In his position he could say and do what men of lesser note could not. Mullá and pír, philosopher and saint, all have to bear his bitter sarcasm. He calls upon them to leave their dogmas, vigils, and researches, and to join with him in the enjoyment of an animal existence. To the Philosopher he says:—

Slaves of vain wisdom and philosophy,
Who toil at Being and Nonentity,
Parching your brains like dry and shrivelled grapes,
Be wise in time, and drink grape-juice like me !

To the Şúfí he says:—

The joyous souls who quaff potations deep,
And saints who in the mosque sad vigils keep,
Are lost at sea alike, and find no shore ;
One only wakes, all others are asleep.

To the Mullá, for whom he has no mercy, he says:—

Mullá ! give heed, if thou true Muslim be,
Quit saintly show and feigned austerity,
And quaff the wine that blessed 'Alí pours,
And sport with Húris 'neath this shady tree.
A Mullá spied a harlot, and quoth he,
' You seem a slave to drink and lechery.'
And she made answer, ' What I seem I am,
But, Mullá, are you all you seem to be ? '

There is a verse in the Qur'án which says, ' Kill them wherever ye shall find them ' (xii. 187). 'Umar makes a curious use of this verse, and by it refutes and confounds the Mullás who objected to his use of wine:—

From right and left grave Mullás came and stood,
Saying, ' Renounce this wine, this foe of good ; '

But if wine be my foe, as they declare,
I swear by Alláh I must drink his blood.

The Mullás held out hopes to all the faithful of Húrís in Paradise. 'Umar, on his principle of ready cash, cannot see that what is morally right there can be morally wrong here. The satire is perfect in:—

All a long summer's day her Khayyám lies
On this green sward, gazing on Húrís' eyes,

Yet Mullás say he is a graceless dog,
Who never gives a thought to Paradise.

In Paradise are Húrís, as you know,
And fountains that with wine and honey flow :

If these be lawful in the world above,
What harm to love the like down here below ?

No doubt he heard these men speak also of God's mercy, a sentiment too often, then as now, a cloak for evil-doing. 'Umar, whatever his views on the subject as an abstract question may have been, was far too honest a man to treat it, in the way he heard it, as more than a mere shibboleth:—

O thou who hast done ill, and ill alone,
Think not to find forgiveness at the throne :

Hope not for mercy, for good left undone
Cannot be done, nor evil done undone.

It is thus no wonder that, seeing unreality all around, in the mysticism of the Şúfí as in the

formalism of the orthodox, and with no true gospel placed before him, he should get utterly weary of the world :—

Ah ! would there were a place of rest from pain,
Which we poor pilgrims might at last attain,
And, after many thousand wintry years,
Renew our youth like flowers and bloom again.

‘Umar Khayyám was a strange compound. He often utters nobler sentiments than those we have yet quoted from his poem. His better nature comes out in the earnest longing for a true, a perfect guide:—

Open the door of Truth, O Usher purest !
And guide the way, O thou of guides the surest !
Directors born of men shall not direct me ;
Their counsel comes to nought but Thou endurest.

Cynical though he was, he retains kindly feeling for others. A noble sentiment is contained in

Whate’er thou doest, never grieve thy brother,
Nor raise a fume of wrath his peace to smother.
Dost thou desire to taste eternal bliss ?
Vex thine own heart, but never vex another.

It is quite natural that he should show a spirit of toleration, but this is merely the result of indifference, which looked upon all systems of religion as equally true and equally false:—

Pagodas are, like mosques, true homes of prayer ;
’Tis prayer that church-bells waft upon the air ;
Ka’ba and temple, rosary and cross,
All are but divers tongues of world-wide prayer.
Hearts with the light of love illumined well,
Whether in mosque or synagogue they dwell,
Have their names written in the book of love,
Unvexed by hopes of heaven or fears of hell.

Still, in spite of an occasional glimpse of a better nature, of more hopeful qualities, the student of the *Rubá‘iyát* will come to see that ‘Umar Khayyám was a saddened man, that he had no hope in the future or in God. What bitter words are these with which the poem concludes:—

Khayyám of burning heart, perchance to burn
In hell, and feed its balefires in thy turn,
Presume not to teach Alláh clemency,
For who art thou to teach, or He to learn ?

It is any wonder that, in spite of his better nature, he should become cold and heartless, that he should be callous and careless?

Quoth fish to duck : ‘ ’Twould be a sad affair
Should this brook ever leave his channel bare.’
To whom the duck : ‘ When I am dead and roasted,
The ocean may run dry for aught I care.’

‘Umar Khayyám has with justice been compared to Lucretius. Both were materialists, both believed not in a future life. ‘Lucretius built a system for himself in his poem . . . it has a professed practical aim—to explain the world’s self-acting machine to the polytheist, and to disabuse him of all spiritual ideas. ‘Umar Khayyám builds up no system, he only shows forth his own doubts and difficulties; he loves to balance antitheses of belief, and settle himself in the equipoise of the sceptic.’

The fact that there is no hereafter gives Lucretius no pain, but ‘Umar, who, if only his reason could let him, would believe, records his utter despair in words of passionate bitterness. He is not glad that there is no help anywhere. And though he calls

for the wine-cup, and listens to the voice within the tavern cry :—

Awake, my little ones, and fill the cup
Before Life's liquor in its cup be dry,

yet he also looks back to the time when he consorted with those who professed to know, and could say :—

With them the seed of wisdom did I sow,
And with my own hand laboured it to grow.

The modern sect of the Bábís is closely connected with the teaching of the Shí'ahs on the Imám, his position and functions, and with the mystical modes of thought of the Şúfís. It is not strictly correct to call them a Muslim sect, for they practically discard the Qur'án and supersede Muḥammad. But the close connexion of Bábíism with Muhammadan dogmas, its present-day importance and the devotion of its followers claim for it more than a passing notice. No non-Christian sect in modern days has suffered such persecution and survived. The movement is one which illustrates the mystical tendency of Persian thought, the fanaticism of the Mullás, and the barbarity of the rulers ; but all the efforts of the Muslim Church and State have hitherto failed to suppress Bábíism, or to lessen the veneration in which the Báb is held by all who accept his teaching.

Abú'l-Qásim (al-Mahdi) the twelfth Imám disappeared in the year A.H. 329, but for a period of sixty-nine years he is said to have held intercourse with his followers through a successive number of

men, who were called the Doors¹ or mediums of communication. Abú'l-Ḥasan, the last of these Doors, refused to appoint a successor, saying that 'God hath a purpose which He will accomplish.' Many centuries passed by, and it was not until the beginning of the last one that this curious theory of intermediaries between the concealed Imám and the Faithful again took definite shape.

Shaikh Aḥmad (A.D. 1753–1826), the founder of the Shaikhí sect, was a devout ascetic and a man of independent thought. He had a profound belief in 'Alí, and was devoted to the memory of the Imáms, whom he looked upon as creative forces, arguing from the text, 'God the best of creators' (xxiii. 14), that, if He be the best, He cannot be the only one. The special point of his teaching was that 'God is immanent in the universe which proceeds from Him, and that all the elect of God, all the Imáms, and all just persons are personifications of the divine attributes.'²

Shaikh Aḥmad was succeeded by a man who soon commanded much respect and influence. His name was Ḥájí Syed Kázim. He died in the year A.D. 1843, and left no successor. After fastings, vigils, and prayers for guidance, the Shaikhís began to consider what was to be done in the matter of a spiritual director. Mullá Ḥusain proceeded to Shíráz, and there met with Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, who produced before him the signs of his call to his divine mission. For several days Mullá Ḥusain pondered over these matters, and, after a long and

¹ Báb means a door.

² *Journal Asiatique*, 6me Série, tome vii p. 458.

severe struggle, became convinced that he had found in the young and ardent enthusiast before him the 'True One,' to whose advent Hájí Syed Kázim had pointed. He wrote to his friends at Karbalá that neither he himself nor any other of them was worthy of the high dignity of Murshid (or leader), and that that 'Illuminated One' to whom their late master had referred was alone worthy. I have found him at Shíráz, and he is worthy to be the Murshid.¹

As the connexion between the Bábís and the Shaikhís is thus so close, we must now see what was the special dogma of the latter sect. The orthodox Shí'ah creed consists of five articles, which are called the pillars or supports of the religion (arkán-i-dín). They are belief (1) in the unity of God (tauḥíd), (2) in the justice of God ('adl), (3) in prophethood (nabúwat), (4) in the imámate (imámat), (5) in the resurrection (ma'ád). The Shaikhís set aside the articles two and five, as already implied in the belief in God and the prophets. To take the place of the rejected articles and to bring the number up to four, they added a new one which they called the 'fourth support' or pillar (ruknu'r-rábi'). The meaning of this is that there must always be amongst believers one perfect man, who can be the channel of grace (wásīṭatu'l-faíd) between the absent Imám and his people. The term 'fourth support' is primarily applied to the dogma that the concealed Imám must always have on earth some one who possesses his entire confidence, to whom he gives special spiritual instruction, and who is

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 6me Série, tome vii, p. 465.

thus qualified to convey to the believers the wishes and wisdom of their invisible head. The term has, however, come to be applied to the person who fulfils this office. At first the Báb claimed to be this 'fourth support,' and so to occupy the place held by the 'doors,' who were the earlier intermediaries between the Imám and his followers. Thus it is that Bábism is connected with the very central doctrine of the Shí'ahs, though in many other ways it has so far departed from accepted Muḥammadan ideas as to form a new sect altogether.

Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad, the Báb, was born at Shíráz on October 9, 1820. When quite young he lost his father. For a time the youth assisted his uncle in mercantile pursuits, but as his mind was more inclined to religious meditation and speculative thought than to business affairs, he proceeded to Karbalá, where he was brought into contact with Hājī Syed Kázim, the Shaikhí leader, whose lectures he occasionally attended. At Karbalá he was distinguished by his zeal for learning and by his remarkably austere life. Visitors to Karbala, especially those from Shíráz, showed him much consideration, and so his fame was spread abroad. He now composed a commentary on Súratu Yúsuf, the twelfth chapter of the Qur'án.

The Bábí historian¹ says of this work, that 'in it he addressed himself to that person unseen, from whom he received help and grace, sought for aid in the arrangement of his preliminaries, and craved the sacrifice of life in the way of love. Amongst

¹ Maqálah-i-Shakhshí Saiyáh, p. 4.

others is this sentence : " O residue of God,¹ I am wholly sacrificed to Thee ; I am content with curses in Thy love, and God the Supreme sufficeth as an eternal protection." "

The Báb also wrote a commentary on other parts of the Qur'án and some prayers. These writings he called 'inspired pages' (ashá'ifu'l-ilhámiyah) and 'word of conscience' (kalámu'l-fitrá) ; but he made no claim to the kind of inspiration called wahí, that is, the revelation brought by an angel or in some mechanical way. He believed his meditations to be divinely inspired, but the inspiration was subjective.

Thus it came to pass that on May 23, 1844, when he was about twenty-four years of age, Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad more definitely formulated his views and announced himself as a duly authorized teacher and guide. He then assumed the name of the Báb

¹ The expression residue (or remnant) of God—*Baqiyat Ulláh*—is a very peculiar one. It is connected with a curious belief of the Shí'ahs, namely, that God allowed some part or fraction of Himself in some way or other to be connected with the Imám. As soon then as Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad was raised by his followers to the dignity of the Báb, or as soon as the idea became present to his own mind, he could address the Imám as the *Baqiyat Ulláh*, and set forth his complete devotion to him. His followers then gave him the titles of the servant of *Baqiyat Ulláh*, the mystery of *Baqiyat Ulláh*, the friend of *Baqiyat Ulláh*. Gradually as, during his imprisonment, he became more and more invisible to his followers, and when he became credited with the power of working miracles and more or less a mythical being, he was no longer called the servant, or the mystery, or the friend of *Baqiyat Ulláh*, but himself was esteemed to be the *Baqiyat Ulláh*—the true Imám so long looked for. Mírzá Kázim Beg says that under the term 'mystery', they understood one who shared the secrets of the Imám. 'The name *Sirr-Ulláh*, Mystery of God, was given to 'Alí, as to one who knew the secrets of divine revelation ; and so, in its new application, the title *Sirr-i-Baqiyat Ulláh*, now a name of the Báb, would mean the one who knew all that was in the mind of the concealed Imám, who himself was the remnant (or residue) of God.' *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, viii. 486.

or Door. He said, 'Whosoever wishes to approach the Lord his God and to know the true way that leads to Him ought to do it through me.' Of this period of his career Mírzá Kázim Beg says : 'The number of his adherents increased day by day, and when they demanded that he, like the ancient prophets, should give them a sign in proof of his mission, he relied on this, that he could write a thousand inspired lines in one day. By his peculiarities and by his austere life, even when still at Karbalá, he was called the Illuminated. When the inhabitants of Shíráz returned from Karbalá they used to say, "Have you heard of our Syed 'Alí Muḥammad ? He is no longer as we are ; he has become famous and has merited the name of the Chosen of God." All people, small and great, flock around him.' He also adds that dreamers and mystics, and evil-disposed persons from self-interest joined him. No doubt some did so from mixed motives. Another writer¹ divides the Báb's first adherents into several classes. First, rigorous and pious Muḥammadans, who really believed that the signs of the twelfth Imám were fulfilled in him ; second, all those who desired reform in Persia, and thought that Bábíism would conduce to that end ; third, the mystics, who considered Bábíism to be similar to their own pantheistic system ; fourth, those who were drawn by the personal influence and character of the Báb.

On his return from Karbalá he was heartily welcomed. Until then, it is said, he looked upon

¹ Browne, *JRAS*, 1889, p. 504.

himself only as one who had made some progress in the divine way (*ṭarīqat*), but he soon began to consider himself a master, appointed by heaven to regenerate his country.

There is some difference of opinion as to what he exactly meant by the title of Bab which he had assumed. Mīrzá Kāẓim Beg says : ' I do not know whether he was acquainted with the words of Christ, " I am the door," but he doubtless knew that Muḥammad had said, " I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is the gate of that city." ' A Muḥammadan historian, an enemy of the Báb, says ' that the Báb, having gathered some Shaikhís together, said: " I am the door of God. Whosoever desires to come to God, and to know the religion of God, cannot do so till he sees me and receives permission from me." ' His followers have now, however, discarded that name, and he is known amongst the Babís by several titles, such as His Highness, His Highness the Point of Revelation, His Highness the First Point. More recently the Behá'ís call him His Highness the Evangelist. Gobineau, a good authority on the subject, says : ' Mīrzá Muḥammad 'Alí said that he was not the Báb in the sense in which they (his followers) had believed and as he himself had thought—that is to say, the door of the knowledge of truth—but that he was the Point, or the originator of truth, a divine appearance, a powerful manifestation,' and so goes on to show that the title Báb was set free, and could henceforth reward the pious devotion of one of the Báb's followers. As a matter of fact, it was bestowed on Mullá Ḥusain, who is sometimes called His Excellency, the Gate of the Gate (*Ḥaḍratu'l-*

Babí'l-Báb). Having made this digression, we may now continue the history of this remarkable man.

The next step seems to be the pilgrimage to Mecca in November 1844, where he stayed a short time and completed all the rites incumbent on pilgrims, returning early in the following year to Bushire. He soon gathered together a large body of disciples and aroused the hostility of the Mullás. The matter then acquired such importance that the reigning Sháh sent one of the most learned doctors of the age, Syed Yahyá, to interview the Báb and report the result. He held three long conferences with him, but the result was that he was so charmed with the Báb that he accepted him as a leader and admitted all his claims. About this time Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí, a leading teacher, sent a person to Shíráz to ascertain the facts of the case. This messenger returned with some of the Báb's writings, which so impressed Mulla Muḥammad 'Alí that he, too, became a follower of the Bab, and urged all his disciples to become Babís. The Mullas complained to the Sháh, and Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí was summoned to Tíhrán, but he was able to meet successfully all his opponents in debate, and nothing came of this action.

The cause of the Báb was now very much strengthened by the support of such famous teachers, who were most earnest and active in propagating the new Faith. The orthodox Mullás soon perceived that they must attack the Báb direct. The result of this hostility was that the Báb, after undergoing a strict examination at Tabríz, was kept in confinement.¹

¹ For a full account, see *Episode of the Báb*, pp. 277-90

All this time the Báb's followers were most active in spreading his doctrines throughout the land. It was now that his most famous convert was made. This was a woman called Qurratu'l-'Ain (Lustre of the Eye). She went everywhere preaching and making converts to the Bábí faith. Some of the Bábis looked with disfavour on this preaching by a woman ; but the Báb supported her, applauded her zeal, and bestowed on her the title of Janáb-i-Ṭáhira (Her Excellency the Pure). From that time all acknowledged her position. She was put to death in the massacre at Ṭihrán which followed on the attempt to kill the Sháh in 1852. Qurratu'l-'Ain was the most remarkable of the Báb's disciples. She was a person of marvellous beauty, possessed of high intellectual gifts, eloquent, devoted, and fearless. She threw her whole soul into the cause she advocated, and her martyrdom sheds a halo of glory round her short and active career.

A Bábí historian says : ' Such fame did she acquire, that most people who were scholars or mystics sought to hear her speech, and were eager to become acquainted with her powers of speculation and deduction. She wrested pre-eminence from stalwart men, and continued to strain the feet of steadfastness, until she yielded up her life at the sentence of the mighty doctors in Ṭihrán.' Mírzá Kázim Beg, a most sober writer, waxes eloquent over the charms of Qurratu'l-'Ain. thus : ' This woman had an influence over her hearers wholly spiritual. She knew how to inspire them with perfect confidence. She was well educated and very beautiful. Everything retired before her. She

raised the veil which covered her face, not to set at nought the laws of chastity and modesty, so deeply graven on the tables of the orthodox law and in popular prejudice, but much rather in order to give by her look more force to the inspired words she spoke. Her speeches stigmatized that gross tyranny which for so many centuries had imprisoned liberty. She preached not, as some have said, to abolish the laws of modesty, but to sustain the cause of liberty. 'The eloquent words which fell from her mouth captivated the hearts of her hearers, who became enthusiastic in her praise.'

Some of her poems breathe the spirit of Šúfiism and show how deeply her mind was imbued with mystic lore. Her romantic career, her marvellous power, and her tragic end will continue to give for a long time to come strength to the Bábí cause and the spirit of endurance to its followers.

In the year 1848 Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh, was crowned at Ṭihrán, and the position of the Bábís became most critical. The Prime Minister hated and persecuted them. A civil war broke out, and the Bábís suffered a great deal ; but no persecution, however severe, could restrain the ardour of the Bábí teachers or the devotion of their followers. It became plain to the authorities that the Báb himself must be put out of the way. He was then condemned to death. A young disciple, Áká Muḥammad 'Alí, who belonged to a noble family of Tabríz, was also condemned at the same time. Great pressure was brought on him by his relatives to induce him to recant and thus to save his life, but he remained quite firm, and shared the martyrdom of his beloved

master. It is a remarkable witness to the power which the Báb had over his disciples, a power which could lead this youth, with so promising a future before him, to give up home and life, to face death and its terrors, rather than be separated from the master he loved so truly.¹

It may be well at this point to give a summary of the character of the Báb, as portrayed by Mirzá Kázim Beg, always remembering that the critic, though eminently fair, does not believe in the claims of the Báb.

He had some characteristics truly great and noble, and was a man of firm and settled convictions. His moral character was high, and he aimed in his preaching to bring all his countrymen into a community united by intellectual and moral ties. He spoke with much earnestness on the necessity for a religious and social reform in Persia, the cessation

¹ Professor Browne has given a translation of a very touching letter, in which Áká Muḥammad 'Alí replied to an affectionate appeal from his brother, who urged him to give up the Báb and return to his family :—

'He is the Compassionate.

'O thou who art my Qibla ! My condition, thanks to God, has no fault, and "to every difficulty succeedeth ease." You have written that this matter has no end. What matter, then, has any end ? We, at least, have no discontent in this matter : nay, rather, we are unable sufficiently to express our thanks for this favour. The end of this matter is to be slain in the way of God, and O what happiness is this ! The will of God will come to pass with regard to His servants, neither can human plans avert the divine decree. O thou who art my Qibla ! the end of the world is death. If the appointed fate which God hath decreed overtake me, then God is the guardian of my family, and thou art mine executor ; behave in such wise as is pleasing to God, and pardon whatever has proceeded from me which may seem lacking in courtesy or contrary to the respect due from juniors : and seek pardon for me from all those of my household and commit me to God. God is my patron, and how good is He as a Guardian !' *New History of the Báb*, p. 202.

of religious persecution, and the amelioration of the lot of women. It is said that much of what he preached on these points had an esoteric meaning, known only to his disciples ; but whether that is the case or not, the veneration they felt for him was profound, and there can be no doubt that the teaching of the Báb was in the direction of freedom, and that he personally was in favour of reform. Mírzá Kázim Beg sums up his reflections thus : ' We neither consider him an adventurer nor a fanatic, but an eminently moral man, a dreamer brought up in the school of the Shaikhís, and possessing some touch of Christianity. We regard him also as a man troubled by the direct influence of some of his devoted and ambitious disciples. In any case, we believe that the appearance of the Báb will be more or less of use in time to the cause of civilization in Persia.' ¹

In the year 1852 an attempt was made by some Bábís to assassinate the Sháh. It does not appear to have been the result of a plot made by the Bábí leaders, but rather the independent action of a few men who had in themselves, or in their families, suffered wrong. A bitter persecution followed. ' The Bábís,' says Mírza Kázim Beg, ' were tortured in the most odious manner, with an unheard-of refinement of cruelty.' An English traveller says : ' Tow steeped in oil was inserted between their fingers and behind their shoulder-blades, leaving portions hanging down which were lighted, and in this condition the unhappy wretches were led, as long as they could walk, through the principal streets

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 6me Série, tome vii, p. 384.

of the capital. A furious proscription followed. No time was lost between apprehension and execution, death was the only punishment known, the headless bodies lay in the streets for days, the terrified relatives fearing to give them burial, and the dogs fought and growled over the corpses in the deserted thoroughfares.'

Captain Von Goumerous, thus relates what he saw, 'The bazaar is illuminated with unhappy victims, because on right and left the people dig holes in their breasts and shoulders and insert burning wicks in the wounds. I saw them dragged by chains, preceded by a military band, in whom these wicks had burned so deep that the fat flickered convulsively in the wound as a newly-extinguished lamp.'

Renan speaks of the massacre thus : 'The day of the great slaughter of the Bábis in Tíhrán was perhaps a day unparalleled in the history of the world.'² He quotes from M. le Comte de Gobineau's work, *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, to the following effect : 'Children and women with lighted candles stuck into the wounds were driven along by whips, and as they went along they sang, "We came from God, to Him we return." When the children expired, as many did, the executioners threw the corpses beneath the feet of their fathers. Life was offered if they would recant. An executioner told one father that if he did not recant, his two sons, the elder of whom was fourteen years old, should be slain on his breast. The father, lying down, said that he was ready, and the elder boy claimed by right of birth to be the first to have

¹ Browne, *The Bábi Religion*, p. 269.

² *Les Apôtres*, p. 378.

his throat cut. At last night fell on a mass of shapeless flesh, and the dogs of the suburbs came in troops to the place.' So ended one important period in the history of the Bábís.

There has been since then no formal outbreak of Bábí revenge, nor has there been any persecution like it. Even this altogether failed of its purpose, for it gave to the movement a vigour and vitality which otherwise it might have lacked, and now Bábís 'are to be found in every walk of life, from the ministers and nobles of the court to the scavenger or the groom, not the least arena of their activity being the Musalmán priesthood itself. It will have been noticed that the movement was initiated by Syeds, Hájís, and Mullás.'¹ Whilst it is true that there has been no persecution so terrible as the one in 1852, yet now and again the hostility of the 'Ulamá shows itself. In 1878, 1888, and in 1889 Bábís were put to death. The heroism and the devotion of the Bábís is something very wonderful.

After the death of the Báb, the chief interest in the movement circles round Mírzá Yaḥyá and his half-brother Bahá'u'lláh, who became the respective leaders of the two sects into which the Bábís are now divided—the Ezelís and the Bahá'ís. There seems no doubt that the Báb in the year 1849 nominated the former,² whom he named Šubḥ-i-Ezel (Morning of Eternity), as his successor, and that for a short time he really held an undisputed position as head of the Bábí Church.

¹ Curzon, *Persia*, i. 499.

² A copy of the original letter of nomination is given in the *New History of the Báb*, p. 426.

In 1852, when the attempt on the life of the Sháh was made, the Bábis were bitterly persecuted, and Şubh-i-Ezel retired to Baghdád, which then became the head-quarters of the sect, and was for many years recognized, at least nominally, as its head. Mírzá Husain 'Alí Bahá'ulláh, who was Şubh-i-Ezel's senior by thirteen years, and had just been released from imprisonment, joined him in 1853. The Persian Government, at length, objected to their residence there, and prevailed on the Turkish authorities in 1863-4 to deport them to Constantinople, from whence a few months later on they were sent to Adrianople. Şubh-i-Ezel led a very secluded life, and the correspondence and other matters were carried on by Bahá, who acted for him. The influence of Bahá then grew, and at last he began to advance claims which afterwards, in the years 1866-7, culminated in the assertion that he was the person to whom the Báb referred as 'Him whom God shall manifest.' To this claim the Ezelís replied that before the person of whose advent the Báb had spoken could come, Bábiism must obtain general currency, and the laws laid down by the Báb in his books must be accepted by most of the nations in the world. The Bahá'ís, who admitted that Şubh-i-Ezel was the first vicegerent of the Báb, to all the objections alleged replied that his rule was only to last until the manifestation of the new leader, who was to come suddenly, and the time of whose advent was known only to God. They also used an argument well known amongst Muḥammadans, an argument based on the literary style of the books given by means of a divinely appointed

messenger, and urged that the *Lauḥ-i-Nasír*, in which Bahá announced his mission, fulfilled this condition of a divine revelation by its eloquence of diction and the wonderful knowledge, unacquired by study, displayed by the writer. Anyhow, the conflicting claims to the leadership led to quarrels and blows. The Turkish Government then determined to separate the disputants. Bahá and his followers were sent to 'Akká (Acre) and Mírzá Yaḥyá and his people were exiled to Famagusta in Cyprus. Since then the followers of Bahá have increased very much, while those of Şubḥ-i-Ezel, or Yaḥyá, have decreased. This is an unlooked-for development of the work of the Báb, for Bahá claims to be the messenger of a new dispensation altogether.

The question at issue now became something more than a mere struggle for leadership, for Bahá's claim virtually deposed the Báb from his position as the 'Point of Revelation' and made him the mere forerunner of 'Him whom God shall manifest.' The Ezelís are, however, nearly extinct, and it is not likely that they will ever attain to power again. Assuming that Bahá had right on his side, it is stated that the changes he made were in a practical direction and beneficial.

The Bábí doctrines are to be found in the writings of the Báb called the *Bayán*, a name sometimes apparently applied to them collectively, but more generally to a particular book. Many of the dogmas are very mystical, but the following is a brief summary.

God is eternal and unapproachable. All things come from Him and exist by Him. Man cannot

approach Him except through some appointed medium. So, distinct from God there is a Primal Will¹ who becomes incarnate in the prophets. This Primal Will spoke in the Báb and will speak in 'Him whom God shall manifest.' This is apparent from the following texts of the *Bayán* : 'The whole *Bayán* revolves round the saying of "Him whom God shall manifest." "A thousand perusals of the *Bayán* are not equal to the perusal of one verse of what shall be revealed by "Him whom God shall manifest."' 'The *Bayán* is to-day in the stage of

¹ There is an evident connexion between this dogma of the Bábís and the Šúfí system, in which the 'First Intelligence' or 'Primal Element' is represented as a manifestation of God. To the Šúfí, as to the Bábí, God is 'sterile in His inaccessible height.' Men can never be more than slaves, nearness to Him is impossible. But men longed for communion with some one or something above them. They felt the need of some intermediary, and found it in a revival of the old Gnostic notions of the Æons, forms of manifestation of the Ineffable and Incomprehensible. This intermediary is the Primal Will of the Bábí and the Primal Element of the Šúfí, who also calls it by the names of the Pen, the First Principle, the Spirit of Muḥammad, Universal Reason ('aql-i-kull). God's voice is heard through it, by it material things were brought into existence. It works in prophets and saints. The Imám is closely connected with it. I am not able to find out whether the Báb taught that the Primal Will was created or not. In Šúfí theology it certainly is, for in the *Akhlaq-i-Jaláli* it is written : 'It is admitted, equally by the masters of perception and conception, that the First Principle, which, at the mandate, "Be and it is," issued, by the ineffable power and will, from the chaotic ocean of inexistence, was a simple and luminous essence, which, in the language of philosophy, is termed the Primary Intelligence, and the great fathers of mysticism and investigation call it the Muḥammadan Spirit.' It is to this, and not to the inaccessible and incomprehensible God, that the Imám seeks to return. When his work in life is done, then 'his end is joined to his beginning' (Ba ágház girdad báz anjám). It is a curious phase of human thought, which the Šúfís evidently borrowed from the Gnostics and the Bábís from the Šúfís. This earnest longing for communion with, a manifestation of God we can sympathize with, and only regret that, in their ignorance or repudiation of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation both Šúfí and Bábí have so sadly missed the mark.

seed, but in the day of "Him whom God shall manifest" it will arrive at the degree of fruition.' It must be remembered that Bahá claimed and is allowed by his followers this exalted position. The following are some of the expressions used of Bahá by his followers: 'Bahá has come for the perfecting of the law of Christ, and his injunctions are in all respects similar. For instance, we are commanded that we should prefer that we should be killed rather than that we should kill. It is the same throughout, and indeed, could not be otherwise, for Bahá is Christ returned again.' 'Christ returns to you as Bahá with angels, with clouds, with the sound of trumpets. His angels are his messengers, the clouds are the doubts which prevent you recognizing him: the sound of the trumpets is the sound of the proclamation which you now hear.'¹ Each dispensation of the Primal Will thus become incarnate supersedes a preceding one, and so Islám has ceased to be the true religion for this age. 'Since it is impossible for created beings to know the Divine Essence, the Primal Will has, for their guidance and instruction, incarnated itself from time to time in a human form. These incarnations are known as prophets. That which spoke in all the prophets of the past now speaks in the Báb, and will speak through "Him whom God shall manifest," and after him through others, for there is no cessation in these manifestations. "That which spoke in Adam, Noah, Moses, David, Jesus, and Muḥammad was the one and the same Primal Will. In each manifestation news has been given of the

¹ Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 308.

that each manifestation is more complete and more perfect than the last.'¹

The great point in the Bábí theology is that the teacher is one and the same, though he manifests himself according to the capacity and needs of those to whom he is sent. The outward form changes but the Universal Spirit remains.² It then follows that now, during the long intervals which separate one prophetic dispensation from the next, there must be in the world some silent manifestation of the Spirit not less perfect than that in prophets.

The *Bayán* speaks with confidence of the future success of Bábism, the government of which is to be tolerant. The Muḥammadan doctrines of the examination in the grave, the resurrection, *ṣirát*, heaven and hell, are all treated allegorically. The views of the Báb on a future state are not very clear. In any cases the hope of a future reward was not placed before his followers as an inducement to follow him. This is in direct contrast to the practice and teaching of Muḥammad. In the *Bayán* the Báb wrote the following striking words: 'So worship God that, if the recompense of thy worship of Him were to be the fire, no alteration in thy worship of Him would be produced. If you worship from fear, that is unworthy of the threshold of the holiness of God, nor will you be accounted a believer; so also, if your gaze is on Paradise, and if you worship in hope of that; for then you have made God's creation a partner with him.'

¹ Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 103.

² For a good account of primitive Bábí doctrines, see *New History of the Báb*, pp. 327-38.

By a very large number of Bábís, Bahá was during the latter part of his life ¹ looked up to as a divinely appointed guide. Before he assumed that position he wrote a book called the *Ikán*, which is held in great esteem. In this book he seems to acknowledge the then superior position of Şubḥ-i-Ezel, but writes bitterly of some who were hostile to himself. Two years after the Turks had banished him to Adrianople he boldly asserted his claim and called on all the Ezelís to submit to his direction. He then wrote other treatises in which his position is dogmatically set forth.

After the death of Bahá in 1892, his eldest son, 'Abbás Efendi, became his successor and is now called Man aráda'lláhu—He whom God hath desired. He is described as a strong, tall man, with a broad forehead and a keen eye, indicating a firm will and strong purpose. Some Bahá'ís consider that he, like Bahá, is a divine manifestation and not a mere man; others deny this and say that he is nothing more than a servant of Bahá, for they hold that no further manifestation will take place until a thousand years have passed away. 'Abbás Efendi lives at 'Akká (Acre) and maintains a correspondence with his followers in Persia. Some of the most devout amongst them visit him and consider this as a pilgrimage to the leader of their Faith. Mr. Browne says of him: 'One more eloquent of speech, more ready of agreement, more apt of illustration, more intimately acquainted with the sacred books of the Jews, the Christians, and the Muḥammadans could, I should think, scarcely be found even amongst the

¹ He died in exile at 'Akká on May .6, 1892.

eloquent, ready and subtle race to which he belongs . . . about the greatness of the man and his power, none who had seen him could doubt.' In the year 1898 he was much troubled by dissensions caused by the rivalry of his brother, Mírza Muḥammad 'Alí, who says that Bahá appointed him to the spiritual headship and 'Abbás to the secular. 'Abbás has assumed both functions."

A Syrian Christian, Ibráhím George Khayru'llah, a convert to Bahaism, in 1893 commenced propaganda work in America, advocating the claims of Bahá'u'lláh. After the quarrel between the two sons of Bahá'u'lláh commenced, Khayru'lláh espoused the cause of Mírza Muḥammad 'Alí. 'Abbás Efendi then sent missionaries to America to advocate his claims. Thus two rival parties arose, each denouncing the other. 'There are said to be several thousands Bahá'is in Chicago, Washington and New York.' It has been well said that 'the story of Bahá'í propaganda in America leaves one with the impression that a number of excellent people have had their hopes raised by men who had no message for them.'⁴

A few extracts from some of Bahá's writings will show to some extent what he taught his followers. 'As for those who commit sin and cling to the world, they assuredly are not of the people of Bahá.' 'With perfect compassion and mercy have we guided and directed the people of the world to that whereby their

¹ Browne, *Episode of the Báb*, p. xxxvi.

² For a fuller account of 'Abbás Efendi, see Sell, *Baháism* (C.L.S.), pp. 38-40, 47-8.

³ For a full account of the propaganda in America see Browne, *The Bábí Religion*, pp. 113-71.

⁴ *RA SJ*, 1918, p. 559.

souls shall be profited. I swear by the sun of truth that the people of Bahá have not any aim save the prosperity and reformation of the world and the purifying of the nations.' 'The heart must be sanctified from every form of selfishness and lust, for the weapons of the worshippers of the Unity and the saints were and are the fear of God.' 'Every one who desireth victory must first subdue the city of his own heart with the sword of spiritual truth and of the word.'

A good many changes in religious ceremonies are made. Prayer is said three times a day instead of five, and the worshippers no longer turn towards Mecca. The fast of Ramaḍán is discarded, and the last month of the Bábí year is substituted for it. The traffic in slaves is forbidden. Shaving the head is not allowed, but the beard may be cut off. Legal impurity is abolished and intercourse with persons of all religions is enjoined. Music is permitted, wine and opium are prohibited. The furniture of houses should be renewed every nineteen years. It is recommended that chairs should be used. No one must carry arms except in times of tumult or war. All are to read the sacred books regularly, to be kind and courteous in their conduct, to approve for others what they would like themselves, and to forgive their enemies.¹ Religious warfare, or jihád, is abolished, and friendly intercourse with all sects is enjoined.

Bahá had marvellous influence over his followers. He seems to have been a person who commanded reverence. Mr. E. G. Browne thus describes an interview with him: 'The face of him on whom I gazed

¹ For a fuller account, see *RASJ*, October 1892, pp. 678 799.

I can never forget, though I cannot describe it. 'Those piercing eyes seemed to read one's very soul; power and authority sat in that ample brow; while the deep lines of the forehead and face implied an age which the jet black hair and beard flowing down in undistinguishable luxuriance almost to the waist seemed to belie.' The Bahá'ís enjoyed much more liberty under Muzaffaru'd-Dín Sháh than they and the Bábís did in the reign of his father Násiru'd-Dín Shah.

The person and appearance of Şubḥ-i-Ezel are thus described by Mr. Browne. 'A venerable and benevolent-looking old man of about sixty years of age, somewhat below the middle height, with ample forehead, on which the traces of care and anxiety were apparent, clear searching blue eyes and long grey beard, rose and advanced to meet us. Before that mild and dignified countenance I involuntarily bowed myself with unfeigned respect; for at length my long-cherished desire was fulfilled, and I stood face to face with Mírza Yahya, Şubḥ-i-Ezel (Morning of Eternity), the appointed successor of the Báb, fourth "Letter" of the "First Unity."' When Cyprus was handed over to the English Government, Mírzá Yahyá, with other political exiles, was transferred there as a political prisoner. He died on April 28, 1912, and was buried in a spot about a mile from Famagusta. An account of his last illness and funeral was written by his son Rizwán 'Alí, a convert to Christianity, known as Constantine the Persian.²

¹ *Episode of the Báb*, pp. xl, xxiv.

² For a full account see Browne, *The Bábí Religion*, pp. 311-13.

From what has now been stated it will be seen that Baháism is not a political movement¹ though in its early days it was brought into conflict with the civil power. It is a religious revolt against orthodox Islám, so far as that is represented by the Shi'ah sect. It raises women to a higher level, it professes to limit many of the social evils of Islám, it has shaken in the minds of many Muslims the conviction that Islám is the final word on things temporal and spiritual, it tends to give liberty of thought and to develop a friendly spirit to others. It is perhaps too soon to speculate on the future of the movement. Those who think it will gradually take the place of Islám in Persia base a strong argument on the fact that its 'recruits are won from the best soldiers of the garrison it is attacking.' It certainly appeals to the traditionary instincts of many Persians. The Şúfí needs a Pír or living guide; the Shi'ah meditates on the Imám, and the high position accorded to that person in Baháism is at least attractive. The life and death of the Báb, and the magnificent heroism of his followers, all help forward the movement. Whether, should the victory be won, the Bahá'ís in the day of power would be as gentle and as liberal as they are in the night of adversity is perhaps doubtful. The whole movement has a disintegrating

¹ As regards the later development of Baháism this statement requires some modification. 'The separation of religion and the State can only be temporary, a momentary stage. When Bahá'ís triumph they will be united' (Dreyfus, *The Bahá'í Revelation*, p. 123). 'There will be a union of religion and the State—the government of the nations. The material laws of men will be founded and enforced according to Baháism.' (Remey, *Bahá'í Movement*, p. 69). For a good account of the political aspect, see *C.M.S. Review*, January 1915, article on *Baháism in its relation to the State*.

effect on Islám as professed in Persia, though whether it will prepare the way for the gospel is a matter in which there is room for difference of opinion.¹ Some persons well qualified to judge consider that it yields satisfaction to quickened religious instincts and provides a brotherhood not yet found in Christianity which seems to them to be a foreign religion not indigenous to Persia: others that, though they may establish their creed in Persia, they will not greatly alter the moral character of the people.² To all who take an interest in Christian missions in Persia, the movement is one of great interest. It betrays a longing for a real, living, loving, personal guide, the revealer of God to man, which can be best met by the acceptance of the Eternal Word. In any case, if only liberty of conscience can be secured, there seems to be a wide and open door.

The founder of the Wahhábí sect was Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahháb, who was born at a village in Nejd in the year A.D. 1691, and died at an advanced age in the year A.D. 1787. The Wahhábís speak of themselves as Muwahḥid, or Unitarians; but their opponents have given them the name of the father of the founder of their sect and call them Wahhábís. Muḥammad was a bright intelligent youth, who, after going through a course of Arabic literature, then studied jurisprudence under a teacher of the Ḥanífí school. At length, full of knowledge, he returned to his native village and became a religious teacher. He was shocked to see how the Arabs

¹ See *Muḥammadan World of To-day*, pp. 121, 129-30.

² *Malcolm, Five Years in a Persian Town*, p. 96.

had departed from what seemed to him the strict unchanging precepts of the Prophet. He saw, or thought he saw, that in the veneration paid to saints and holy men the great doctrine of the Unity was being obscured. The reason was very plain. The Qur'án and the Traditions of the Companions had been neglected, whilst the sayings of men of lesser note and the jurisprudence of the four great Imáms had been too readily followed. Here was work to do. He would reform the Church of Islám, and restore men to their allegiance to the Book and the Sunna, as recorded by the Companions. It is true that the Sunnis would rise up in opposition, for thus the authority of the four Imáms, the canonical legists of the orthodox sect, would be set aside ; but what of that ? Had he not been a follower of Abú Ḥanífa ? Now he was prepared to let Abú Ḥanífa go, for none but a Companion of the Prophet could give an authoritative statement with regard to the Sunna. He must start a school of his own.

He said : ' The Muslim pilgrims adore the tomb of the Prophet, and the sepulchre of 'Alí, and of other saints who have died in the odour of sanctity. They run there to pay the tribute of their fervent prayers. By this means they think that they can satisfy their spiritual and temporal needs. From what do they seek this benefit ? From walls made of mud and stones, from corpses deposited in tombs. Now, the true way of salvation is to prostrate one's self before Him who is ever present, and to venerate Him, the One without associate or equal.' Such outspoken language raised up opposition, and he had to seek the protection of Muḥammad ibn Sa'ud,

a chief of some importance, who was converted to Wahhábíism about the year A.D. 1742, and was a stern and uncompromising man. 'As soon as you seize a place,' he said to his soldiers, 'put the males to the sword. Plunder and pillage at your pleasure, but spare the women, and do not strike a blow at their modesty.' The traveller Burckhardt says that the rule of the Wahhábís was to kill all their enemies whom they found in arms. On the day of battle the chief used to give each soldier a paper, a safe-conduct to the other world. This letter was addressed to the Treasurer of Paradise. It was enclosed in a bag which the warrior suspended to his neck. The soldiers were persuaded that the souls of those who died in battle would go straight to heaven, without being examined by the angels Munkir and Nakir in the grave. The widows and orphans of all who fell were supported by the survivors. Nothing could resist men who, fired with a burning zeal for what they deemed the truth, received a share of the booty, if conquerors; who went direct to Paradise if they were slain. In course of time, Muḥammad ibn Sa'ud married the daughter of Ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahháb, and founded the Wahhábí dynasty, which ruled at Ryad.¹ Attempts at reform in Islám generally lead to the establishment of new kingdoms. 'They begin with a saint and end with a despot.'

'Abdu'l-'Azíz, the second chief, made a pilgrimage to Mecca in A.D. 1799, and another in A.D. 1803,

¹ The following are the names of the Wahhábí chiefs: Muḥammad ibn Sa'ud, died A.D. 1765; 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, assassinated by a Persian in 1803; Sa'ud ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, died 1814; 'Abdu'lláh ibn Sa'ud, beheaded 1818; Turki ibn Sa'ud, assassinated 1834; Fayḍul, died 1865; Sa'ud, died 1874; 'Abdu'lláh.

when both Mecca and Madína fell into his hands, and a complete wreck was made of all things not approved of by the Wahhábís. 'There did not,' it is said, 'remain an idol in all that pure city.' The zenith of Wahhábí power was reached in A.D. 1810, when his son, Sa'ud ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, plundered the tomb of the Prophet at Madína, and distributed the jewels and the relics to his own soldiers. This led to the Turkish and Egyptian attacks on the Wahhábís. The destruction of cupolas and tombs of saints was a favourite employment. When destroying them, the Wahhábís said, 'God have mercy on those who destroy, and none on those who built them.' Rosaries and charms, silk robes and pipes, were consigned to the flames, for smoking is a deadly sin. On this point there is a good story told by Palgrave.¹ "'Abdu'l-Karím said: "The first of the great sins is the giving divine honours to a creature." Of course I replied, "The enormity of such a sin is beyond all doubt. But if this be the first, there must be a second; what is it?" "Drinking the shameful!" (in English idiom, "smoking tobacco") was the unhesitating answer. "And about murder, and adultery, and false witness?" I suggested. "God is merciful and forgiving, rejoined my friend." That is, these are merely little sins.

Never before had such outward devotion been seen in Mecca. The mosques were crowded with worshippers, some of whom had been forcibly driven to the stated prayers.

Pipes became very scarce, and one unfortunate woman who had been caught 'smoking the shameful'

¹ *Central and Eastern Arabia*, ii. 10.

was paraded through the public streets seated on an ass, with a large green pipe suspended from her neck. Thus were all lax Muslim men and women warned of the consequence of evil ways.

After holding possession of the holy cities for nine years they were driven out by the Turkish forces. 'Abdu'lláh, the fourth Wahhábí ruler, was captured by Ibrahím Pasha and afterwards executed at Constantinople in the year A.D. 1818. For some years Nejd was a province of Egypt, but in 1824 the Wahhábís revolted under Turki ibn Sa'ud, who was assassinated in 1834. His son Fayḍul succeeded him, but was for a while a prisoner at Cairo and Nejd was again ruled by Egyptians. Fayḍul escaped from confinement and became Emir in 1842. He died in 1865 and his two sons, 'Abdu'lláh and Sa'ud, the former a bigot, the latter a comparatively liberal man, disputed the succession. Finally, Sa'ud established himself as Emir. In 1871 'Abdu'lláh put himself into communication with Midhat Pasha, then Governor of Baghdád, who at once appointed him Qá'im-makám or Deputy-Governor of Nejd. 'Abdu'lláh, however, failed to get possession. A little later on, Midhat Pasha deposed the whole family, and issued a proclamation to the effect that a Turkish Governor would be appointed. This scheme failed, and in 1872 Sa'ud returned to Ryad, where he died in 1874. 'Abdu'lláh then became the Emir. The Turkish Government wished him to rule as its nominee, but this position he declined to accept. He had, however, very little power outside Ryad. Wahhábíism is now in its own stronghold rapidly declining, and

the power of the once warlike and prosperous family that guided its destinies in Central Arabia is at an end.

The leader of the Wahhábí movement in India was Syed Aḥmad. He soon gained a large number of disciples, and in A.D. 1826 preached a jihád against the Sikhs, but five years after the Wahhábís were suddenly attacked by the Sikhs under Sher Singh, and Syed Aḥmad was slain. This did not, however, prevent the spread of Wahhábí principles, for he had the good fortune to leave behind him an enthusiastic disciple. This man, Muḥammad Ismá'íl, was born near Delhi in the year A.D. 1781. When quite a youth, he met with Syed Aḥmad, who soon acquired great influence over his new disciple. Ismá'íl told him one evening that he could not offer up his prayers with ḥuḍúr-í-qalb, or presence of heart. The Syed took him to his room, where he instructed him to repeat the first of the prayers after him, and then to conclude them alone. He did so, and was able to so abstract himself in the contemplation of God that he remained engaged in prayer till the morning. Henceforward he was a devoted adherent of his spiritual teacher. In the public discussions, which often took place, none were a match for Ismá'íl. This fervent preacher of Wahhábíism is now chiefly remembered by his great work, the *Taqwíatu'l-Imán*,¹ the book from which the account of Wahhábí doctrine given in this chapter is taken. In one sense it is a struggle against the traditionalism of later stages, but in no

¹ This is written in Urdu and was published in Chachra in Bengal in the year A.H. 1251 or A.D. 1835. It is now scarce.

sense can it be said that the Wahhábís reject Tradition. The traveller Burckhardt says: 'The Qur'án and the Traditions of Muḥammad are acknowledged as fundamental and as comprising the laws; the opinions of the best commentators are respected, though not implicitly followed.' They acknowledge, then, as the foundation of the Faith, first, the Qur'án; second, the Traditions which are recorded on the authority of the Companions; and third, the Ijmá' of the Companions. Thus to the Wahhábí as to the Sunní, Muḥammad is in all his *acts* and *words* a perfect guide.

So far from Wahhábíism being a move onward because it is a return to first principles, it rather binds the fetters of Islám more tightly. It does not originate anything new; it offers no relaxation from a system which looks upon the Qur'án and the Traditions as a perfect and complete law, social and political, moral and religious. The Wahhábí places the doctrine of the Tauḥíd, or Unity, in a very prominent position. It is true that all Musalmán sects put this dogma in the first rank,¹ but Wahhábís set their faces against practices common to the other sects, because they consider that they obscure this fundamental doctrine. It is this which brings them into collision with other Musalmáns. The greatest of all sins is shirk (polytheism). A Mushrik (polytheist) is one who so offends. All Musalmáns consider Christians to be polytheists, and Wahhábís

¹ It has been well said that 'Monotheism in itself, when the one God does not combine everything that is divine, and when the conception of deity is onesided and limited, does by no means possess the great value commonly ascribed to it.' Tiele, *History of the Ancient Religions*, p. 104.

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consider all other Musalmáns also to be polytheists, because they look to the Prophet for intercession, pray to saints, visit shrines, and do other unlawful acts.

The *Taqwíatu'l-Imán* says that 'two things are necessary in religion—to know God as God, and the Prophet as the Prophet.' The two fundamental bases of the Faith are the 'doctrine of the Tauḥíd and obedience to the Sunna.' The two great errors to be avoided are shirk and bid'at (innovation or change).

Shirk is defined to be of four kinds : shirku'l-'ilm, ascribing knowledge to others than God ; shirku't-taşarruf, ascribing power to others than God ; shirku'l-'ibáda, offering worship to created things ; shirku'l-'áda, the performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.

The first, shirku'l-'ilm, is illustrated by the statement that prophets and holy men have no knowledge of secret things unless as revealed to them by God. Thus some wicked persons made a charge against 'Áyisha. The Prophet was troubled in mind, but knew not the truth of the matter till God made it known to him. To ascribe, then, power to sooth-sayers, astrologers, and saints is polytheism.

The second kind (shirku't-taşarruf) is to suppose that any one has power with God. He who looks up to any one as an intercessor with God commits shirk. Thus : 'But they who take others beside Him as lords, saying, "We only serve them that they may bring us near God"—God will judge between them (and the Faithful) concerning that wherein they are at variance' (xxxix. 4). Inter-

cession may be of three kinds. For example, a criminal is placed before the king. The Vizier intercedes. The king, having regard to the rank of the Vizier, pardons the offender. This is called *shafá'atu wajáhat*, or 'intercession from regard.' But to suppose that God so esteems the rank of any one as to pardon a sinner merely on account of it is shirk. Again, the queen or the princes intercede for the criminal. The king, from love of them, pardons him. This is called *shafá'atu'l-muḥabbat*, or the 'intercession from affection.' But to consider that God so loves any one as to pardon a criminal on his account is to give that loved one power, and this is shirk, for such power is not possible in the court of God. 'God may out of His bounty confer on His favourite servants the epithets of Ḥabīb, favourite, or Khalīl, friend ; but a servant is but a servant ; no one can put his foot outside the limits of servitude, or rise beyond the rank of a servant.' Again, the king may himself wish to pardon the offender, but he fears lest the majesty of the law should be lowered. The Vizier perceives the king's wish and intercedes. This intercession is lawful. It is called *shafá'at bi'l-idḥn*, intercession by permission, and such power Muḥammad will have at the day of judgment. Wahhábís hold that he has not that power now, though all other Musalmáns consider that he has, and in consequence (in Wahhábí opinion) commit the sin of *shirku't-taṣarruf*. The Wahhábís quote the following passages in support of their view. 'Who is he that can intercede with Him but by *His own permission*' (ii. 256). 'Say : Intercession is wholly with God!

His the kingdom of the heavens and of the earth' (xxxix. 46). 'Who shall teach thee what the day of doom is. It is a day when one soul shall be powerless for another soul : all sovereignty on that day shall be with God' (lxxxii. 18, 19). 'No intercession shall avail with Him, but that which He Himself shall allow' (xxxiv. 22). They also say : 'Whenever an allusion is made in the Qur'án¹ or the Traditions to the intercession of certain prophets or apostles, it is this kind of intercession and no other that is meant.'

The third shirk, (shirku'l-'ibáda) is prostration before any created being, with the idea of worshipping it. Thus : 'Prostration, bowing down, standing with folded arms, spending money in the name of an individual, fasting out of respect to his memory, proceeding to a distant shrine in a pilgrim's garb and calling out the name of the saint while so going, is shirku'l-'ibáda.' It is wrong to 'cover the grave with a sheet (*ghiláf*), to say prayers at the shrine, to kiss any particular stone, to rub the mouth and breast against the walls of the shrine.' This is a stern condemnation of the very common practice of visiting the tombs of saints and of some of the special practices of the pilgrimage to Mecca. All such practices as are here condemned are called *ishrák fi'l-'ibádá*—association in worship.

They quote the following Tradition, recorded by *Bukhári*, to show that pilgrimages should be made to three places only : 'Pilgrims do not go except to

¹ 'His name shall be Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary, *illustrious in this world and in the next*' (iii. 40). *Baidáwí* says that this eminence refers to the prophetic office in this world and to intercession in the next.

three mosques—the mosques in Mecca, Madína, and Jerusalem.’

The fourth shirk (shirku’l-‘áda) is the keeping up of superstitious customs such as the *istikhára*, i.e. seeking guidance from beads, trusting to omens, good or bad, believing in lucky and unlucky days, adopting such names as ‘Abdu’n-Nabí (slave of the Prophet) and so on. The denouncing of such practices brings Wahhábism into daily conflict with the other sects, for scarcely any people in the world are such profound believers in the virtue of charms and the power of astrologers as Musalmáns. The difference between the first and fourth shirk, the shirku’l-‘ilm and the shirku’l-‘áda, seems to be that the first is the *belief*, say in the knowledge of a soothsayer, and the second the *habit* of consulting him. To swear by the name of the Prophet, of ‘Alí, of the Imáms, or of Pírs (Leaders) is to give them the honour due to God alone. It is *ishrák fi’l-adab*—association in paying respect. Another common belief which Wahhábis oppose is that Musalmáns can perform the Ḥajj, say prayers, read the Qur’án, abide in meditation, give alms, and do other good works, the reward of which shall be credited to a person already dead.

The above technical exposition of Wahhábí tenets shows how much stress they lay on a rigid adherence to the doctrine of the Unity. ‘La Iláha illa’lláhu’—there is no god but God—is an eternal truth. Yet to the Musalmán God is a Being afar off. The Muslim idea of the unity of God changes His fundamental reality into a new abstraction. He is distinct from all creation and so is removed to an infinite

distance from it. This conception is, however, influenced by a firm belief in the omnipotence of God, which, in His arbitrary decrees, brings Him near to man. In rejecting the Fatherhood of God the Wahhábí has accepted as the object of his worship, hardly of his affections, a Being despotic in all He does, arbitrary in all His ways. He has accepted the position of a slave instead of that of a son.

Palgrave, who knew the Wahhábís well, says :—

‘ There is no god but God ’ are words simply tantamount in English to the negation of any deity save one alone ; and thus much they certainly mean in Arabic, but they imply much more also. | Their full sense is, not only to deny absolutely and unreservedly all plurality, whether of nature or of person in the Supreme Being, not only to establish the unity of the Unbegetting and the Unbegot, in all its simple and incommunicable oneness, but besides this, the words, in Arabic and among Arabs, imply that this one Supreme Being is the only Agent, the only Force, the only Act existing throughout the universe, and leave to all beings else, matter or spirit, instinct or intelligence, physical or moral, nothing but pure unconditional passiveness, alike in movement or in quiescence, in action or in capacity.] Hence in this one sentence is summed up a system which, for want of a better name, I may be permitted to call the ‘ Pantheism of Force.’ God is One in the totality of omnipotent and omnipresent action, which acknowledges no rule, standard, or limit save one sole and absolute will. He communicates nothing to His creatures, for their seeming power and act ever remain His alone, and in return He receives nothing from them. It is His singular satisfaction to let created beings continually feel that they are nothing else than His slaves, that they may the better acknowledge His superiority. He Himself, sterile in His inaccessible height, neither loving nor enjoying aught save His own and self-measured decree, without son, companion, or councillor, is no less barren for Himself than for His

creatures, and His own barrenness and lone egoism in Himself is the cause and rule of His indifferent and unregarding despotism around.¹

Palgrave allows that such a notion of the Deity is monstrous, but maintains that it is the 'truest mirror of the mind and scope of the writer of the Book' (Qur'an), and that, as such, it is confirmed by authentic Tradition and learned commentaries, a knowledge of the literature, and intercourse with the people. Men are often better than their creeds. Even the Prophet was not always consistent. There are some redeeming points in Islám. But the root idea of the whole is as described above, and from it no system can be deduced which will grow in grace and beauty as age after age rolls by. 'The Arab proverb states that 'the worshipper models himself on what he worships.' Thus a return to first principles, sometimes proclaimed as the hope of Turkey, is but the putting back the hour-hand of Islám to the place where, indeed, Muḥammad always meant it to stay, for, as Palgrave, in continuation of the passage just quoted, says, 'Islám is in its essence stationary, and was framed thus to remain. Sterile, like its God, lifeless like its first Principle, and supreme Original in all that constitutes true life—for life is love, participation, and progress, and of these the Qur'anic Deity has none—it justly repudiates all change, all advance, all development.'

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l Wahháb was a man of great intellectual power and vigour. He could pierce through the mists of a thousand years, and see with an eagle eye how one sect and another had

¹ *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 365-6.

laid accretions on the Faith. He had the rare gift of intuition, and could see that change (*bid'at*) and progress were alien to the truth. This recognition of his ability is due to him ; but what a sad prostration of great gifts it was to seek to arrest, by the worship of the letter, all hope of progress, and to make 'the starting-point of Islám its goal.' That he was a good Musalmán in so doing no one can doubt, but that his work gives any hope of the rise of an enlightened form of Islám no one who really has studied Islám can believe.

Wahhábíism simply amounts to this, that while it denounces all other Musalmáns as polytheists, it enforces the Sunna of the Prophet with all its energy.¹ It breaks down shrines, but insists on the necessity of a pilgrimage to a black stone at Mecca. It forbids the use of a rosary, but attaches great merit to counting the ninety-nine names of God on the fingers. It would make life unsociable. The study of the Fine Arts, with the exception of Architecture,² can find no place in it. Ismá'il quotes with approval the following Tradition.

¹ Muḥammad Ismá'il concludes his great work, the *Taqwíatu'l-Imán*, with the prayer : 'O Lord, teach us by Thy grace the meaning of the terms *bid'at* and *Sunna*, and the Law of the Prophet. Make us pure Sunnis and strictly submissive to the *Sunna*' (p. 117). This is a clear and distinct proof that Wahhábís do not reject Tradition as a basis of the Faith. It also shows their horror of innovation, and reveals the little hope there is of any real progress through their influence.

² On the subject of Architecture, Syed Amír 'Alí in his *Life of Muḥammad* says : 'The superiority of the Muslims in architecture requires no comment.' At all events none is given, and the reader is left to suppose that the praise sometimes given to them on account of the beauty of many Muhammadan buildings is rightly awarded, and that Islám is thus shown to be a system which has produced culture. The fact is that just as Islám borrowed its philosophy from the Greeks, so did it get its ideas about architecture from the Byzantines and the Persians.

“Áyisha said, “ I purchased a carpet on which were some figures. The Prophet stood in the doorway and looked displeased.” I said, “ O messenger of God, I repent to God and His Messenger; what fault have I committed that you do not enter? ” His Highness then said, “ What is this carpet? ” I replied “ I have bought it for you to sit and rest upon.” Then the messenger of God replied, “ Verily, the makers of The Arabs, inspired by the teaching of Muḥammad, originated neither the one nor the other. Ibn Khaldún says of the Arabs, ‘ When they ceased to observe the strict precepts of their religion and the desire of dominion and luxurious living overcame them, the Arabs employed the Persian nation to serve them, and acquired from them the arts and architecture. They then made lofty buildings. This was near the end of the Empire.’ He also says (ii. 375) that when the Khalifa Wálid ibn Abdu’l-Málik wished to construct mosques at Madína, Jerusalem, and Damascus, he sent to the Emperor at Constantinople for ‘ workmen skilled in the art of building ’ Thus, on the testimony of this Muḥammadan historian, it is clear that the origin of Muslim architecture is to be traced to Persian and Greek sources. In connexion with this subject there is a valuable article on Arabian architecture in an appendix to the second volume of Lane’s *Modern Egyptians*. The writer, Stanley Lane-Poole, the best living authority on the subject, says : ‘ To the architecture of these kings (i.e. of the Sassanian dynasty) the Arabs owed more than had been commonly supposed.’ ‘ Besides the Persians, the Arabs were also indebted to the Copts for assistance.’ ‘ The influence of Byzantium on the art of the Arabs cannot be doubted.’ ‘ Their workmen were commonly Copts, Greeks, and Persians, and though they (i.e. Arabs) must have learnt from these peoples, they appear never to have been able to dispense altogether with their service.’ ‘ The modern fashion of assuming everything Muḥammadan to be of true Arabian art has misled art critics.’ Another authority says : ‘ There has never been any such thing as Arabian architecture, and when we speak of Muslim architecture all that can be meant under that phrase is the architecture developed for Muslim purposes in Muslim countries by Muslim builders on Byzantine, Roman, or Persian models’ (Macdonald, *Aspects of Islám*, p. 307). ‘ When we speak of Arab art we are speaking of a thing which is, in its essential characteristic not Arabian at all ; but the production of those cultured lands over which in the great out-pouring of the Arab conquests, the race spread itself ’ (Sir Charles Lyall, *RASJ*, January 1912, p. 135). There is much misconception on this subject, and modern Muslim apologists for Islám quite ignore the testimony of their own great historian Ibn Khaldún.

pictures will be punished on the day of resurrection, when God will desire them to bring them to life. A house which contains pictures is not visited by the angels." ' In a Tradition quoted by Ibn 'Abbás, the Prophet classes artists with murderers and parricides. Wahhábíism approves of all this, and thus by forbidding harmless enjoyments it would make society an organized hypocrisy. It would spread abroad a spirit of contempt for all mankind except its own followers, and, where it had the power, it would force its convictions on others at the point of the sword.

Wahhábíism was reform after a fashion in one direction; in the history of Islám there have been attempts at reform in other directions; there will yet be such attempts, but so long as the Qur'án and the Sunna (or, in the case of the Shí'ah its equivalent) are to form, as they have hitherto done for every sect, the sole law to regulate all conditions and states of life, enlightened and continued progress is impossible.

The Ahmadiyya sect is modern. Its founder Mírzá Ghulám Ahmad Khan was born in the year 1839 at Qádián, a village in the Punjáb. In 1888 he claimed to be the Messiah and al-Mahdi and asserted that certain ancient prophecies were fulfilled in his person and mission, and that he received divine revelations. He also uttered prophecies regarding the humiliation or the death of his opponents, and finally had to be restrained by a Government Order, February 24, 1899, from 'publishing any prediction involving the disgrace of any person.'

He alleged that Jesus did not die on the cross, but was taken down in a swoon from which he recovered

and afterwards travelled as far as Cashmere, where he died and was buried. He interpreted St. Matthew xvi. 28 to mean that Jesus was alive at the taking of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and St. Matthew xv. 24 as meaning that Jesus went east to seek out the lost tribes of Israel. Like the Bábís he held that at certain periods God raised up special leaders and that he was such an one—the al-Mahdi of the Muslims and the Messiah of the Christians. He claimed to be an orthodox Muslim, accepting fully the apostleship of Muḥammad, and all the dogmas of Islām. He entirely opposed the views of the modern liberal school of Muslims, founded by Sir Syed Aḥmad Khán and represented by the Hon. Syed Amír Alí and the late Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí.

Naturally his claims to be al-Mahdi and a prophet, his call to obedience to himself and his formation of a new sect raised up great opposition; but he gathered together a considerable number of persons, some of whom were able men, who supported his claims in a monthly periodical called the *Review of Religions*. He died on May 26, 1908. Hákim Núru'd-Dín then became the leader of the movement under the title of Khalífa'u'l-Masíḥ (successor of the Messiah). He was assisted by a council. Mírzá Ghulám Aḥmad Khán had commanded his followers to abstain from any interference in political matters. In 1913 this order was disregarded, in consequence of which a new party, the Anjuman-i-Ishá't-i-Islām, was formed at Lahore. Thus, just as in the Bábí movement in Persia, so here after the death of the founder divisions began, and the unity of the sect was broken.

On the death of Núru'd-Dín, a son of the Mírzá, named Bashíru'd-Dín Maḥmúd Aḥmad became the Khalífa. The Lahore Anjuman is represented in England by Khajáh Kamálu'd-Dín, editor of a magazine published in England and an active missionary of the Aḥmadiyya movement. He has also commenced the editing of a new English translation of the Qur'án with a commentary, remarkable chiefly by its lack of sound scholarship, its divergence from accepted Muslim beliefs, its ignorant dogmatism and bitter hatred of Christianity.¹

The Aḥmadís, or Qádiánís as they are also called, are active propagandists of the views of the founder of the sect. The propaganda is not confined to India but is extended to foreign countries. In 1908 the Mírzá claimed to have 500,000 followers. Persons able to judge put 70,000 as the more probable number. Whether the movement will grow and what form it may take in the future is hard to say.²

From the account given in this chapter, it is plain the Musalmáns are not all of one heart and soul.³ In the next chapter I hope to show that Islám is a very dogmatic and complex system notwithstanding the simple form of its creed.

¹ For a review of the first instalment of the commentary, see *The Indian Bookman* (C.L.S.), October, 1917.

² For a full and accurate account of the movement see Walter, *The Aḥmadiyya Movement*, Association Press, Calcutta, and Oxford University Press; also the article Qádiám in *The Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x.

³ 'In no part of the world is there more of secret division, aversion, misbelief (taking Muhammadanism as our standard), and unbelief than in those very lands which to a superficial survey seem absolutely identified in the one common creed of the Qur'án and its author.' Palgrave. *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 10.

CHAPTER IV

THE CREED OF ISLÁM¹

FAITH is defined by Muslim theologians as 'Confession with the tongue and belief with the heart.'² It is said to 'stand midway between hope and fear.' It is subdivided into Imánu'l-mujmal the shortened confession and Imánu'l-mufaṣṣal, the detailed confession.

Shahrastáni in *al-Milah wa'n-Niḥal* (p. 27) defines the terms Islám, imám, iḥsán. He records a Tradition thus : 'Gabriel came to the Prophet in the form of an Arab and said : "O messenger of God, what is Islám?" The Prophet replied: "Islám is to testify to the unity of God and the apostleship of

¹ The creed, or kalíma, is simply the expression of belief in one God, and in Muḥammad as His apostle. I use the word creed here in the usual sense of a body of dogmas.

² There is much dispute as to whether faith can increase or not. Imám Abú Ḥanífa says 'It does not change. It is not affected by sin or the omission of religious duties, though such misconduct will be punished.' Imám ash-Sháfi'í says that faith does decrease if religious duties are neglected. Abú Ḥanífa replies that women do not, at certain times, say the namáz, nor the poor give alms. Is their faith decreased? The words 'it increased their faith' (iii. 167) seem to support ash-Sháfi'í. Abú Ḥanífa and his disciples define faith as belief of the mind and confession by the tongue, without any reference to good works. In the *Mishkátu'l-Muṣṣabih*, Hábu'l-Imán, Bukhári and Muslim record a Tradition by Abú Dhar which says that the Prophet declared that faith without works was sufficient. Abú Dhar asked what would happen to an adulterer or a thief and was told that the repetition of the kalima would ensure entrance into Paradise. Being astonsihed, Abú Dhar repeated his question and was told 'to put dust on his nose,' a proverbial way of telling him to be ashamed. For other Traditions on this subject, see Maulavi Imádu'd-Dín, *Ta'lim-i-Muḥammadi* (ed. Lahore), p. 10. The Mu'tazilís, on the contrary, consider good works essential.

Muḥammad, to say the namáz, to give alms, to fast in Ramaḍán, and to perform the Ḥajj.” Gabriel said, that this was true and asked what imán was. The Prophet replied that it was to believe in God, angels, books, prophets, the last day and predestination. Gabriel approved and enquired the meaning of iḥsán. The Prophet answered : “ ‘To worship God as if thou seest Him, for if thou seest Him not, He seest thee.’ ” He further defined Islám as ‘outward submission.’

Thus a Muslim is one who performs the outward duties of religion. This is a more correct view than that he is one wholly resigned to the will of God. A Mu'min must also have imán, or belief in the articles of the creed.

Imánu'l-mujmal is an expression of the following faith : ‘I believe in God, His name and attributes, and accept all His commands.’ Imanu'l-Mufaṣṣal is the acceptance of the following dogmas : ‘I believe in God, angels, books, prophets, the last day, the predestination by the Most High God of good and evil, and the resurrection after death.’ These form the articles of faith which every Muslim must believe, to which belief, in order to render it perfect, he must also add the performance of the ‘acts of practice,’ namely : (1) Tashahhud—the recital of the kalima or creed :—‘There is no deity but God, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God.’¹ (2) Ṣalát—the five daily prayers. (3) Roza—the thirty days’ fast of Ramaḍán. (4) Zakát—the legal alms. (5) Ḥajj—the pilgrimage to Mecca.

¹ The first clause is called the nafy wa ithbát, rejection and affirmation : ‘there is no god’ is the nafy, ‘but God’ is the ithbát.

1. GOD.—This article of the faith includes a belief in the existence of God, His unity and attributes, and has given rise to a large number of sects. Tauḥíd, or unity, is said by Abú Muntahá to be of two kinds—tauḥídu'r-rúbiyat and tauḥídu'l-ulúhiyat. The first means that God who creates and sustains all is one ; but belief in this does not necessarily make a man a believer, for káfirs, it is said can accept also this dogma ; so, to be a true believer, a man must accept as an article of faith the tauḥídu'l-ulúhiyat, that is, worship only one God, and look upon Him as the only object of worship, the one without a second.¹ It is wrong also to worship angels and saints.

The author of the *Risála-i-Barkavi*,² speaking of the divine attributes, says :—

(1) Life (Hyát). God Most High is alone to be adored. He has neither associate nor equal. He is neither begotten nor does He beget. He is immutable, invisible, without figure, form, colour, or parts. His existence has neither beginning nor end. If He so wills, He can annihilate the world in a moment or recreate it in an instant. If all the infidels became believers, He would gain no advantage ; if all believers became infidels, He would suffer no loss.

(2) Knowledge ('Ilm). God has knowledge of all things hidden or manifest, whether in heaven or on earth. Events

¹ Idolatry is strongly denounced in the Qur'án. The statues of the pagan Arabs are called 'an abomination of Satan' (v. 92) and idol worship is spoken of with contempt. (vi. 74 ; xiv. 38).

² The quotations are taken from M. Garcin de Tassy's *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran* in which (p. 154) he speaks of the *Risála* thus : 'The elementary work on the religion of the Musalmáns which enjoys the highest esteem and the widest circulation in Turkey.' A short epitome of the dogmas about God and the divine attributes as taught by Imám ash-Ash'arí, Imám al-Ghazálí, an-Nasafí and al-Fudálí will be found in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, pp. 293–351.

past and future are known to Him. He knows what enters into the heart of man and what he utters with his mouth. He is free from forgetfulness, negligence, and error. His knowledge is eternal: it is not posterior to His essence.

(3) Power (Qudrat). God is almighty. If He wills, He can raise the dead, make stones talk, trees walk, annihilate the heavens and the earth, and re-create them. His power is eternal *à priori* and *à posteriori*. It is not posterior to His essence.

(4) Will (Iráda). He can do what He wills, and whatever He wills comes to pass. Everything, good or evil, in this world exists by His will. He wills the faith of the believer and the piety of the religious. He willeth also the unbelief of the unbeliever and the irreligion of the wicked. All we do we do by His will: what He willeth not does not come to pass. We must acknowledge that the will of God is eternal, and that it is not posterior to His essence.

(5) Hearing (Sama'). He hears all sounds, whether low or loud. He hears without an ear, for His attributes are not like those of men.

(6) Seeing (Başr). He sees all things, even the steps of a black ant on a black stone in a dark night; yet He has no eye as men have.

(7) Speech (Kalám). He speaks, but not with a tongue as men do. He speaks to some of His servants without the intervention of another, even as He spoke to Moses, and to Muḥammad on the night of the ascension to heaven. He speaks to others by the instrumentality of Gabriel, and this is the usual way in which He communicates His will to the prophets. It follows from this that the Qur'án is the word of God, and is eternal and uncreated.

These are the şifátu's-sab'a, or seven attributes¹ of God. There is unanimity of opinion as to the

¹ On these attributes, Professor Gwatkin says: 'They tell us nothing of the character behind them: so far as these (first) four go they might be an almighty evil' (*The Knowledge of God*, Edinburgh 1907 ii. 120). 'We are told He is merciful and forgiving: and this might have transformed the whole system, had it been otherwise put. Thrown down as it is, like

number of attributes, but not as regards their nature and the extent of the knowledge concerning them to which men can attain. Thus some say that the knowledge¹ of God is the first thing to acquire ; but Imám Sháfi'í and the Mu'tazilís say that a man must first attain to the idea of the knowledge of God. The meaning of the expression ' knowledge of God ' is the ascertaining the truth of His existence, and of His positive and privative attributes, as far as the human understanding can enter into these matters. 'The unity is not a mere numerical unity, but absolute, for the number one is the first of a series and implies a second, but God has not a second.'² He is 'singular without anything like Him, separate, having no equal ;' for, 'had there been either in heaven or earth gods beside God, both

an oracle from heaven, having no foundation shown in the divine character and seeking no response in human nature, it means only that God is a good-natured Sultán who for unknown reasons will let off some favoured persons on easy terms' (*Ibid*, p. 123) 'The words for good and evil (ḥalál and ḥarám) give the notion that certain actions are permitted, others tabooed, by a Governor "by order" so to speak, not pronounced holy, or unholy, by One who is in Himself in nature and essence holy.' *The Muslim Idea of God* (C.L.S.), p. 48.

'The knowledge of God is said to be gained from the Qur'án in three ways : (1) 'Ilmu'l-yaqín, that is, by reason and outward apprehension, and this is the knowledge gained by the ordinary 'Ulamá (2) 'Ainu'l-yaqín, that is, knowledge gained by the inward eye or intuition. This is gained by a few of the 'Ulamá ; (3) Ḥaqqu'l-yaqín, that is the highest form of knowledge, which includes the lower kinds, and is gained only by the prophets.' *'Aqá'id-i-Abū Muntahá*, p. 58.

² 'He in His essence is One without any partner. Single without any similar, Eternal without any opposite, Separate without any like. He is One, Prior (*qādim*) with nothing before Him, from eternity (*asali*) without any beginning, abiding in existence, with none after Him, to eternity (*abadī*) without any end, subsisting without ending, abiding without termination.' From the *Iḥyá'* of Imám Ghazálí, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 300.

surely had gone to ruin' (xxi. 22). God is not a substance, for substance has accidents, but God has none : otherwise His nature would be that of 'dependent existence.' God is without parts, for otherwise He would not exist till all the parts were formed, and His existence would depend on the parts, that is, on something beside Himself.

The orthodox strictly prohibit the discussion of minute particulars, for they say : 'just as the eye turning to the brightness of the sun finds darkness intervene to prevent all observation, so the understanding finds itself bewildered if it attempts to pry into the nature of God.' All the attributes of God are declared to be beyond explanation (*bilá kayfa*), and so cannot be understood either by reason or by analogical deduction.

The Prophet said : 'We did not know the reality of the knowledge of Thee ;' and to his followers he gave this advice : 'Think of God's gifts, not of His nature : certainly you have no power for that.' The Khalífa Akbar said : 'To be helpless in the search of knowledge is knowledge, and to inquire into the nature of God is shirk (infidelity).' A slight acquaintance with Muslim theology shows that neither the advice of the Prophet nor the warning of the Khalífa has been heeded.

According to the early Muslims, the Companions and their followers, inquiries into the nature of God and His attributes were not lawful.¹ The Prophet, knowing what was good for men, had plainly

¹ According to the Tradition, 'arguments about the nature of God is blasphemy' *البَّهْثُ عَنْ ذَاتِ اللَّهِ كُفْرٌ* *al bahath 'an dhātu'lláh kufr*.

revealed the way of salvation and had taught them : ' Say : He is God alone : God the eternal ! He begetteth not, and He is not begotten ; and there is none like unto Him.' (cxii.)

As regards their salvation this was sufficient for them to know of the mystery of the Godhead. God is far beyond the reach of the human understanding. Men should therefore mistrust their own perceptive faculties and notions, and should obey the inspired legislator Muḥammad, who loving them better than they love themselves, and knowing better than they do what is truly useful, has revealed both what they ought to believe and what they ought to do. It is true that men must exercise their reason, but they must not do so with regard to the divine attributes.¹

Dogma is divided into two portions, uṣūl² and farú'—(i.e. roots and branches). The former include the doctrine about God; the latter consist of truths which result from the acceptance of the former. The orthodox belief is that reason has only to do with the farú', for the uṣūl being founded on the Qur'án and Sunna have an objective basis. Differences of opinion about various branches of the farú'

¹ The above statements form the substance of several pages in the *Prolégomènes* d'Ibn Khaldún, in which also occurs the following : ' This, however, furnishes no ground for depreciating our intelligence and our perceptive faculties. Intelligence is a perfectly even balance, furnishing us with fixed and certain results ; but this balance ought not to be employed in weighing matters which concern the Unity of God, the future life, the nature of prophesy, or the true character of the divine attributes. To wish to do so is absurd ' (iii. 45).

² 'Ilmu'l-Uṣūl is the name for the legal science which concerns itself mostly with a discussion on the sources of law and matters appertaining thereto, as contradistinguished from 'Ilmu'l-farú' which is the name for the material science of law.' *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 3.

led to discussions which did not stop there, but went on to the *uṣūl*,¹ and so paved the way for the rise of scholastic theology (*'Ilmu'l-kalām*). I have already in the chapter on the exegesis of the *Qur'án* explained the difference in meaning between *muḥkam* and *mutashábih* verses.² This difference lies at the very foundation of the present subject. It is therefore, necessary to enter a little into detail. The question turns very much on the interpretation of the fifth verse of the third *Súra*: 'He it is who hath sent down to thee the Book. Some of its signs are of themselves perspicuous (*muḥkam*): these are the basis of the Book, and others are figurative (*mutashábih*).³ But they whose hearts are given to err follow its figures, craving discord, craving an interpretation; yet none knoweth its interpretation but God. And those who are firm in knowledge say, "We believe in it: it is all from our Lord." But none will bear this in mind save men endued with understanding.' Here it is clearly stated (1) that no one except God can know the interpretation of *mutashábih* verses, and (2) that wise men, though they know not their interpretation, yet believe them all. Many learned men, however, say that the full stop should not be placed after the word 'God,' but

¹ For a list of the principal writers on '*Ilmu'l-uṣūl*', see *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 36.

² *Bukhārī* relates how 'Áyīsha said: 'One day the Prophet recited the fifth verse and said to me, "When thou seest those who follow its figures, these are they whom God has named men of error—avoid them."'

³ 'Naturally, theologians are little agreed as to what the true "obscure" (*mutashábih*) verses are, and reckon in that class those which their systems find hard to digest,' Macdonald, *Life and Attitude in Islām*, p. 133.

after 'knowledge.' The difference will be seen thus:—

FIRST READING

None knoweth its interpretation but God. And those who are firm in knowledge say, 'We believe in it: it is all from our Lord.'

SECOND READING

None knoweth its interpretation but God and those who are firm in knowledge. They say, 'We believe in it: it is all from our Lord.'

On this slight change in punctuation,¹ which shows that 'those who are firm in knowledge' can interpret the mutashábih verses, opposite schools of theology have arisen in Islám. The second reading opens the way to a fearless investigation of subjects which all the early Muslims avoided as beyond their province. In the early days of Islám it was held that all parts of the Qur'án, except the muḥkam verses and the purely narrative portions, were mutashábih; that is, all verses which related to the attributes of God, to the existence of angels and genii, to the appearance of Antichrist, the period and signs of the day of judgment, and generally all matters which are beyond the daily experience of mankind. It was strongly felt that not only must there be no

¹ The commentator Bukhárí says 'Some consider that the letter waw (and) after the word God is a copulative conjunction or waw'l-'atf, and that consequently there is no full stop after God.' Others, however, treat the waw as waw'l-isti'náf, i.e. it commences a sentence, and is therefore preceded by a full stop. This is the opinion of most commentators.

Baidáwí accepts the second reading and considers that 'They say, "we believe in it" ' يقولون آمنا به ' is a fresh sentence, explaining the conduct of those who are firm in knowledge' (i. 146).

Zamakhsharí, a Mu'tazila commentator, puts the full stop after 'firm in knowledge.' He interprets the whole thus. 'None are directed to the right interpretation thereof, that interpretation which should be placed upon it, except God and those of his servants whose knowledge is profound.'

discussion on them,¹ but no attempt should be made to understand or act on them. Ibn 'Abbás, a Companion, says: 'One must believe the mutashábih verses, but not take them for a rule of conduct.' 'Áyisha said: 'Avoid those persons who dispute about the meaning of the Qur'án, for they are those whom God has referred to in the words, "whose hearts are given to err."'

The first reading, which puts the full stop after the word 'God,' is the one adopted by the Aṣḥáb, the Tábi'ún, and the Tabá'u't-Tábi'in, and the great majority of commentators. The Sunnis generally are of this opinion. Those who take the opposite view are the commentators Mujáhid (A.H. 101), Rábí' bin Anas, and others. The scholastic theologians (Mutakalliman)² generally adopt the second reading, which puts the full stop after the word 'knowledge.' They argued thus: How could men believe what they did not know? to which their opponents answered, that the act of belief in the unknown is the very thing here praised by God. The scholastics then inquired why, since the Qur'án was sent to be a guide and direction to men, were not all its verses muḥkam? The answer was, that

¹ 'Such is the rule followed by the ancient Musalmáns in respect of the mutashábih verses: they also applied the rule to expressions of the same kind in the Sunna because they came from the same sources as the Qur'án.' Ibn Khaldún, iii. 67.

This passage is of some interest as maintaining the common source and origin of the Qur'án and the Sunna.

² 'The Muzalmán authors distinguish between the earlier and later Mutakalliman. The former (of whom we here treat) were occupied with purely religious questions; the latter, who arose after the introduction of the Greek philosophy amongst Muslims, embraced many philosophic notions, though they tried to make them fit in with their religious opinions.' Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 320.

the Arabs acknowledged two kinds of eloquence. One kind was to arrange words and ideas in a plain and simple style, so that the meaning might be at once apparent, the other was to speak in figurative language. Now, if the Qur'án had not contained both these styles of composition, it could not have claimed the position it does as a book absolutely perfect in form as well as in matter.

Bearing in mind this fundamental difference of opinion we can now pass on to the consideration of the attributes. The essential attributes are life, knowledge, power, will, for without these the others could not exist. Then the attributes of hearing, seeing, speech give us a further idea of perfection. These are the *Şifátu'th-Thabútiah*, or affirmative attributes, the privation of which would imply loss ; there are also *Şifátu's-Salbiah*, or privative attributes, such as God has no form, is not limited by place, has no equal. The attributes are also called *Şifátu'dh-Dhatiah* and *Şifátu'l-Fi'liah*. The former are those which have no opposite, as life, for death cannot be predicated of God ; the latter are those which have an opposite, as mercy, for God can have its opposite—anger. The acts of sitting, rising, descending, the possession of face, hands, eyes, being connected with the idea of corporeal existences, imply imperfection, and apparently contradict the doctrine of 'exemption' (*tanzíh*) according to which God is, in virtue of His essence, in no way at all like the creatures He has made. *Tanzíh* may be defined to be a 'declaration of the exemption of God in His absolute Unity from all things.' The logical conclusion is that it places Him outside the

world of *things* the world of *thought* also and so may lead to agnosticism.¹ Tashbíh, on the other hand, is 'the likening of God to things of which we have cognizance.' An illustration of tashbíh is one of the names of God, namely, the Hearer, which likens God to an earthly being who hears. The four great Imáms, seeing the difficulty raised by the dogma of tanzíh, all taught that it was impious to inquire into these matters, for all such allusions were mutashábih. 'The Imam Ḥanbal and other early divines followed in the path of the early Muslims and said : "We believe in the Book and the Sunna, and do not desire explanations. We know that the High God is not to be compared to any created object : nor any creature with Him." ' Málik ibn Anas said : 'God's sitting on the throne is known ; how it is done is unknown ; it must be believed and questions about it are an innovation (bid'at).' Imám ash-Sháfi'í said that a man who inquired into such matters should be tied to a stake and carried about, and that the following proclamation should be made before him : 'This is the reward of him who left the Qur'án and the Traditions for the study of scholastic theology.' Imam Ḥanbal says : 'Whosoever moves his hand when he reads in the Qur'án the words, "I have created with my hand," ought to have his hand cut off ; and whoever stretches forth his finger in repeating the saying of Muḥammad, "The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful," deserves to have his finger cut

¹ For an expansion of this argument, see *The Muslim Idea of God* (C.L.S.), pp. 20, 29.

off.' At-Tirmídhí, when consulted about the statement of the Prophet that God had descended to the lowest of the seven heavens, said : 'The descent is intelligible, the manner how is unknown ; the belief therein is obligatory, and the asking about it is a blamable innovation.' But all such attempts to restrain discussion and investigation failed.¹

In the words 'Of those who show mercy, Thou art the most merciful' [Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 150] : 'Of those who show compassion. He is the most compassionate.' [Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 64] ; 'Thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy, [Súratu'l-Anbiyá' (xxi) 83] it is not to be supposed that the quality of mercy here described is what we understand by that quality. The misery and pain in the world is the evidence of thus. Alláh uses the term as one of his names, but the power to understand it is not given to men. 'God is great and there is no more to be said. Muḥammad was not philosopher enough to see how completely this denial of the image of God in man cuts up religion by the roots.'²

The two main points in the discussion of this question are, (1) whether the attributes of God are internal or external ? whether they are part of His essence or not ? and (2) whether they are eternal or not ?

¹ A similar discussion went on amongst the Jewish Philosophers, who were divided into attributists and non-attributists. The latter won the day and their chief leader Maimonides said : 'If you give attributes to a thing, you define that thing, and defining a thing means to bring it under some head, to compare it with something like it. God is sole of His kind. Determine Him, circumscribe Him, and you bring Him down to the modes and categories of created things.' *Literary Remains of Emmanuel Deutsch*, p. 193.

² Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God*, ii. 121.

The two leading sects were the Şifátian and the Mu'tazilís. The Şifátians, according to Shahrastání,¹ taught that the attributes of God are eternally inherent in His essence, without separation or change. Every attribute is conjoined with Him as life with knowledge or knowledge with power.² They also taught that the mutashábih verses were not to be explained. So at first they did not attempt to give the meaning of the terms 'hands, eyes, face,' when applied to God. They simply accepted them as they stood.

The Mu'tazilís were the great opponents of the Şifátians. They rejected the idea of eternal attributes, saying that eternity was the formal attribute of the essence of God. 'If,' they said, 'we admit the eternal existence of an attribute, then we must recognize the multiplicity of eternal existences.' They also rejected the attributes of hearing, seeing, and speech, as these were accidents proper to corporeal existences. They looked upon the divine attributes as mental abstractions, and not as having a real existence in the divine essence.³ The expression 'hand of God,' they said, meant simply His power or His favour. To this the orthodox replied, that in this case then the Devil (Iblis) could say that he had been created by the 'favour of God,' for God had said, 'I created thee with my two hands.' Again, they urged, if hand means

¹ *Al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 67.

² 'He has qualities (şifát) from all eternity existing in His essence. They are not He nor are they any other than He.' An-Nasafí, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 309.

³ On account of their views on this subject, the orthodox call them al-Muţţila—the divestors.

power, then God has two powers ; and as the Prophet gave no explanation of such a *mutashábih* expression, it is clear that none is possible, and therefore the Mu'tazila explanation is not to be accepted.

The Mu'tazilis were the Free-thinkers of Islám.¹ The origin of the sect was as follows : al-Ḥasan,² a famous divine, was one day seated in the mosque at Baṣra when a discussion arose on the question whether a believer who committed a mortal sin became thereby an unbeliever. The *Khárijites* affirmed that it was so. The orthodox denied this, saying that, though guilty of sin, yet that as he believed rightly he was not an infidel.¹ One of the scholars, Wáṣil ibn 'Aṭá (who was born at Madína, A.H. 80), then rose up and said: ' I maintain that a Muslim who has committed a mortal sin should be regarded neither as a believer or an unbeliever, but as occupying a middle station between the two.' He then retired to another part of the mosque, where he was joined by his friend 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd and others. They resumed the discussion. A learned man, named Qatáda, entering the mosque, went up to them, but on finding that they were not the party in which al-Ḥasan was, said: ' These are the Seceders (al-Mu'tazilis).'² Al-Ḥasan soon expelled them from his school. Wáṣil then founded a school of his own, of which, after the death of his master, 'Umar ibn 'Ubayd became the head.

¹ Ibn *Khallikán*, iii. 34.

² Another account is that Ḥasan of Baṣra said to those around him, *I'tazala anná*—he hath seceded from us—and that this was the origin of the name.

Waṣil felt that a believer, though sinful, did not merit the same degree of punishment as an infidel, and thus, starting off on the question of degrees of punishment, he opened up the whole subject of free-will. This soon brought him into conflict with the orthodox on the subject of predestination, and that again to the subject of the inspiration, the interpretation and the eternity of the Qur'án, and of the divine attributes. His followers rejected the doctrine of the 'divine right' of the Imám, and held that the entire body of the Faithful had the right to elect the most suitable person, who need not necessarily be a man of the Quraish tribe, to fill that office. The principles of logic and the teaching of philosophy were brought to bear on the precepts of religion.

According to Shahrastání¹ the Mu'tazilís on the nature and attributes of God hold :—

That God is eternal, and that eternity is the peculiar property of His essence ; but they deny the existence of any eternal attributes (as distinct from His nature). For they say, He is Omniscient as to His nature ; Living as to His nature ; Almighty as to His nature ; but not through any knowledge, power, or life existing in Him as eternal attributes ; for knowledge, power, and life are part of His essence, otherwise, if they are to be looked upon as eternal attributes of the Deity, it will give rise to a multiplicity of eternal entities.

They maintain that the knowledge of God is as much within the province of reason as that of any other entity ; that He cannot be beheld with the corporeal sight. They also maintain that justice is the animating principle of human actions, and that justice means the following out the dictates of reason.

¹ Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, p. 30.

Again, they hold that there is no eternal law as regards human actions ; that the divine ordinances which regulate the conduct of men are the results of growth and development ; that God has commanded and forbidden, promised and threatened by a law which grew gradually. At the same time, he who works righteousness merits rewards, and he who works evil deserves punishment. Knowledge is attained only through reason. The cognition of good and evil is also within the province of reason ; nothing is known to be right or wrong until reason has enlightened us as to the distinction ; and thankfulness for the blessings of the benefactor is made obligatory by reason, even before the promulgation of any law upon the subject. Man has perfect freedom ; is the author of his actions both good and evil, and deserves reward or punishment hereafter accordingly.

The following story, narrated by Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syúti, illustrates Shahrastání's statement that the Mu'tazilis denied that God could be seen by the eye of man.¹ The Khalífa al-Wáthiq (A.H. 227-232) summoned the Traditionist Aḥmad bin Naṣru'l-Khuzá'í to Baghdád, and questioned him regarding the creation of the Qur'án, which he denied, and the vision of God at the day of judgment. Aḥmad replied, 'Thus goes the Tradition, "Ye shall see your Lord in the day of judgment, as ye see the moon."'² Al-Wáthiq said : 'Thou liest ;' to which Aḥmad replied, 'Nay, it is thou that liest.' The Khalífa added, 'What ! will He be seen as a circumscribed and corporeal form which space can

¹ *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 30. *وانظروا على نفي رؤية الله تعالى بالابصار في دار القرار*

² *The narrators say, 'We were sitting on the fourteenth night of the month with the Prophet, who said : " Certainly you will see your Lord just as you see this moon."'* (*Ṣaḥíḥu'l-Bukḥarí*, chapter on Súratu'l-Qáf.) See also Súratu'l-A'ráf (vii) 139.

contain and the eye observe? Verily, I deny a God with such attributes. What say ye?' Then some of the Mu'tazilīs who were present said: 'It is lawful to put him to death.' The Khalīfa said: 'When I rise against him, let no one rise with me; for verily I throw the burden of my sins on this infidel, who worships a God whom I do not worship, and whom I do not recognize with such attributes.'¹ The Khalīfa then, with his own hand, slew Aḥmad."

Aḥmad bin Háyat, a Mu'tazilī, explains the Tradition thus: 'It is not God, but the "primary intelligence" ('aql-i-kull) which will be seen.' This 'aql-i-kull is another name for the 'primary reason' (jauharu'l-awwal), which in the Šúfī cosmogony is the first thing created. However, the orthodox view, as opposed to that of the Mu'tazilīs, is that God will be seen, but that it cannot be said that He will appear on this side or that, in this manner or that. They hold that all Musalmáns (though some exclude women) will see God, and that those persons before Muḥammad's time who followed the teaching of the prophets will also see Him. There is a difference of opinion about angels and genii; some say they also will see God, and some deny this privilege to them.

During the reigns of the 'Abbásid Khalīfas Ma'mún, Mu'tašim, and Wáthiq (A.H. 198-232) at

¹ Syúfi, *History of the Khalīfas*, p. 355.

² The body was impaled, and the following inscription was attached to it—'This is the head of Naṣr, the son of Málik. The servant of God, the Imám Harún, invited him to affirm the creation of the Qur'án and to deny the similitude of God to human form, but he refused except to continue in his obstinacy, therefore may God hasten his descent into hell fire.' Syúfi, *History of the Khalīfas*, p. 355.

Baghdad, the Mu'tazilís were in high favour at court.¹ Under the 'Abbásid dynasty² the ancient Arab society was revolutionized ; Persians filled the most important offices of state ; Persian doctrines took the place of Arab ones. The orthodox suffered bitter persecution. The following story will show how, at length, the Khalífa Wáthiq relented. An old man, heavily chained, was one day brought into his presence. The prisoner obtained permission to put a few questions to Aḥmad ibn Abú Dá'úd, a Mu'tazilí and the President of the Court of Inquisition. The following dialogue took place : 'Aḥmad,' said the prisoner, 'what is the dogma which you desire to have established ?' 'That the Qur'an is created,' replied Aḥmad. 'This dogma, then, is without doubt an essential part of religion, insomuch that the latter cannot without it be said to be complete ?' 'Certainly,' 'Has the Apostle of God taught this to men, or has he left them free ?' 'He has left them free.' 'Was the Apostle of God acquainted with this dogma or not ?' 'He was acquainted with it.' 'Wherefore, then, do you desire to impose a belief regarding which the Apostle of God has left men free to think as they please ?' Aḥmad remaining silent, the old man turned to Wáthiq and said : 'O Prince of Believers, here is my first position made good.' Then turning to Aḥmad, he said : 'God has said : "This day have I perfected religion for you, and have filled up the

¹ Mas'údí, *Murúju'ḥ-Dhauab*, viii. 301-2.

² 'This was the most splendid epoch of the empire of the Arabs, when their power and, at the same time, their intellectual culture and literature attained their culminating point.' *Journal Asiatique*, 4me Série, tome xii, p. 104.

measures of my favours upon you, and it is my pleasure that Islám be your religion " (v. 5). But according to you, Islám is not perfected unless we adopt this doctrine that the Qur'án is created. Which now is most worthy of credence—God, when He declares Islám to be complete and perfect, or you when you announce the contrary? ' Aḥmad was still silent. ' Prince of Believers,' said the old man, ' there is my second point made good.' He continued, ' Aḥmad, how do you explain the following words of God in His Holy Book?—" O Apostle! proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord ; for if thou dost not, thou hast not proclaimed His message at all." Now this doctrine that you desire to spread among the Faithful, has the Apostle taught it, or has he abstained from doing so? ' Aḥmad remained silent. The old man resumed, ' Prince of Believers, such is my third argument.' Then turning to Aḥmad he said : ' If the Prophet was acquainted with the doctrine which you desire to impose upon us, had he the right to pass by it in silence? ' ' He had the right. ' And did the same right appertain to Abú Bakr, ' Umar, ' Uṭhmán, and ' Alí? ' ' It did.' ' Prince of Believers,' said the prisoner, ' God will, in truth, be severe on us if He deprives us of a liberty which He accorded to the Prophet and his Companions.' The Khalífa assented, and at once restored the old man to liberty.' So ended one of the fiercest persecutions the orthodox have ever had to endure, but so also ended the attempt to break

¹ This story is given in a shorter form by Syáhí, *History of the Khalífas*, p. 356.

through the barriers of traditionalism. The next Khalífa al-Mutawakkil, a ferocious and cruel man, restored the orthodox party to place and power. 'He summoned the Traditionists to Sámarra, loaded them with presents, honoured them, and commanded them to bring forward Traditions on the attributes of God, and on the personal vision of Him at the day of judgment.'¹ This was done to refute the views of the Mu'tazilis on these points. The people were much pleased, and one man said: 'The Khalífas are but three—Abú Bakr for his waging war on the apostates, 'Umár for his removal of abuses, and Mutawakkil for his revival of traditional doctrine. Now, to-day orthodoxy has been honoured as if it had never been in reproach, and the innovators in religion have fled into hell-fire disgraced and unaccepted of God.'² The Khalífa also issued a fatwá (decree) declaring that the dogma that the Qur'án was created was an utter falsehood. He instituted severe measures against Christians, Jews, Shi'ahs, and Mu'tazilis.³ Aḥmad ibn Abú Dá'úd was one of the first to be disgraced. Heresy and latitudinarianism were banished. The final blow to the Mu'tazilis, however, came not from the Khalífa, but a little later on from al-Ash'arí (A.H. 260-320), who had been brought up in the very strictest orthodoxy, but, when able to think for

¹ Syúṭi, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 360. ² *Ibid*, 361.

³ 'The non-Muslim population had to wear yellow head-coverings and also collars of wood or iron round their necks. The figures of devils were placed in front of their houses. In A.H. 236 the Khalífa ordered the tomb of Ḥusain to be destroyed and its neighbourhood to be laid waste. Pilgrimages to it were stopped.' Syúṭi, *History of the Khalifas*, p. 362.

himself, took a wider view of things, became a Mu'tazilí and remained one until he was forty years of age.

The Mu'tazilís when expelled from power in Baghdád still flourished at Bašra, where one day the following incident occurred. Abú 'Alí al-Jubbá'í, a Mu'tazilí doctor, was lecturing to his students when al-Ash'arí propounded the following case to his master : ' There were three brothers, one of whom was a true believer, virtuous and pious, the second an infidel, a debauchee and reprobate, and the third an infant ; they all died. What became of them ? ' Al-Jubbá'í answered, ' The virtuous brother holds a high station in Paradise, the infidel is in the depths of hell, and the child is among those who have obtained salvation.' ' Suppose now,' said al-Ash'arí, ' that the child should wish to ascend to the place occupied by his virtuous brother, would he be allowed to do so ? ' ' No,' replied al-Jubbá'í, ' it would be said to him, " Thy brother arrived at this place through his numerous works of obedience to God, and thou hast no such works to set forward." ' ' Suppose then,' said al-Ash'arí, ' that the child should say, " This is not my fault ; thou didst not let me live long enough, neither didst thou give me the means of proving my obedience." ' ' In that case,' said al-Jubbá'í, ' the Almighty would say, " I knew that if I had allowed thee to live, thou wouldst have been disobedient and have incurred the punishment of hell ; I acted, therefore, for thy advantage." ' ' Well,' said al-Ash'arí, ' and suppose the infidel brother were here to say, " O God of the Universe ! since Thou knewest what awaited him,

Thou must have known what awaited me ; why then didst Thou act for his advantage and not for mine ? ” ’ Al-Jubbá’ī was silent, though very angry with his pupil, who was now convinced that the Mu‘tazila dogma of man’s free-will was false, and that God elects some for mercy and some for punishment without any motive whatever. Disagreeing with his teacher on this point, he soon began to find other points of difference, and soon announced his belief that the Qur’án was not created.¹ This occurred on a Friday in the great mosque at Baṣra. Seated in his chair he cried out in a loud voice, ‘ They who know me know who I am ; as for those who do not know me, I shall tell them : I am ‘Alí ibn Ismá‘íl al-Ash‘arí, and I used to hold that the Qur’án was created, that the eyes (of men) shall not see God, and that we ourselves are the authors of our evil deeds ; now I have returned to the truth. I renounce these opinions, and I take the engagement to refute the Mu‘tazilis and expose their infamy and turpitude.’

Another account says that, standing on the steps of the pulpit in a mosque at Baṣra, he threw away his kaftan and said, ‘ O ye who are here met together ! Like as I cast away this garment, so do I renounce all I formerly believed.’ It is no uncommon thing in the history of religious beliefs for a

¹ It is said that shortly before, the Prophet had appeared to him in a dream and said to him : ‘ Help the tenets handed down from me, for they are true,’ by which he understood that he was to give up the reasoning of a rationalistic theology and apply himself to the Qur’án and the Traditions. For a full and interesting account of the probable cause for this change of al-Ash‘arí’s views and for his subsequent conduct, see Macdonald, *The Religious Life and Attitude in Islám*, pp. 89-90.

man to give up broad and liberal views and to return to the narrower ways of orthodoxy, but it is an uncommon thing for such an one to retain in the new sphere the methods of the old ; but this is just what al-Ash'arí did. He enlisted on the side of orthodox Islám all the dialectical skill of the Mu'tazilís, and gave to the side of the orthodox the weapons of the sceptic. He then adopted the scholastic methods, and started a school of thought of his own, which was in the main a return to orthodoxy. He thus overthrew the liberal school, and his principles and methods have ruled the greater part of the world of Islám ever since. His own dying words are said to have been, ' The curse of God be on the Mu'tazilís : their work is delusion and lies.' The result of this retrogression of so able a man is to be regretted, for it undoubtedly retarded the progress of free thought, and helped to make Islám still more conservative and immobile. It is this which makes the defection of al-Ash'arí from the Mu'tazila ranks so important an event in Muslim history. Had it been otherwise, and had al-Ash'arí maintained his liberal views, it may be that the system of Islám would have been largely modified, its fierce bigotry softened, its culture less pedantic, its susceptibility to foreign and outside influences greater, and the lands in which it has flourished more progressive and enlightened. But so it has not been, and all has become hard and fast, and apparently immobile and unprogressive.¹

¹ ' The amount of labour spent on Fiqh, the principal subject of study amongst the Muslim theologians has been immense, but very little has been produced that can claim literary importance . . . the

The Ash'arian doctrines differ slightly from the tenets of the Şifátians, of which sect al-Ash'arí's disciples form a branch. The Ash'aríans hold :—

(i) That the attributes of God are distinct from His essence, yet in such a way as to forbid any comparison being made between God and His creatures. They say that they are not 'ain nor ghair, not of His essence, nor distinct from it--i.e. they cannot be compared with any other things.

(ii) That God has eternal will from which proceed all things, the good and the evil, the useful and the hurtful.¹ The destiny of man was written on the eternal table before the world was created.

So far they go with the Şifátians, but in order to preserve the moral responsibility of man they say that he has power to convert will into action.² But this power cannot create anything new, for then

literary achievements of Islám in the field of dogmatics do not rise to a higher level . . . nearly every one thought it necessary to formulate his dogmatic point of view in a 'Aqída, even though in point of contents it differed in no respect from that of his predecessors.' *The Encyclopedia of Islám*, pp. 413-4.

¹ 'Nothing exists upon earth, be it good or bad, but that which God wills, but all things are by God's will. The works of creatures are created and predestined by God, as He said : " God has created you and what ye make (xxxvi. 94). Man is able to create nothing "' (al-Ash'arí, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 294). This idea of unlimited power has so filled the Muslim mind that sin is looked upon, not so much as a breach of the moral law as a violation of some arbitrary decree. Some actions of the Prophet were, according to any law of righteousness, evil. but no Muslim would admit that in doing them he committed a sin, for, it is believed, that he performed them by the command of God. Muḥammad does not seem to have been able to look upon God as a moral Being, or to have understood that there is an eternal law of righteousness. Sin is not so much sin on account of its being a transgression of a moral law, but of an arbitrary decree.

² 'Thus, if a man becomes an infidel, it is not to be said that it is by the decree of God, although it is written on the " Concealed Tablet ; " it is not by the decree or will of God, but by kasb and choice.' Hashiya, or marginal notes of the '*Aqd'id-i-Abū'l-Muntahá*, p. 25.

God's sovereignty would be impaired ; so they affirm that God in His providence so orders matters that whenever ' a man desires to do a certain thing, good or bad, the action corresponding to the desire is, there and then, created by God, and, as it were, fitted on to the desire.'¹ Thus it seems as if it came naturally from the will of the man, whereas it does not. This action is called *kasb* (acquisition), because it is acquired by a special creative act of God. ' The servant of God, with his actions, confession, and knowledge, is created ; so when he is a doer, the thing done is the creation of God, for to the servant there is no power, but *kasb* is lawful.' Shahrastání states that the Mu'tazilís entirely denied this idea of *kasb*. They said, ' For servants there is no *kasb*, only intention ; the actions of a servant are produced from his own nature.' *Kasb*, then, is an act directed to the obtaining of profit or the removing of injury, the term is, therefore, inapplicable to the Deity. The Imám al-Haramayn, A.H. 419-478, held ' that the actions of men were effected by the power which God has created in man.' Abú Isháqu'l-Isfarayain says: ' That which maketh impression, or hath influence on action, is a compound of the power of God and the power of man.'

The Ash'ariáns also say :—

(iii) That the word of God is eternal, though the vocal sounds used in the Qur'án, which is the manifestation of that word, are created. They say that the Qur'án contains the eternal Word which existed in the essence of God before time was, and the word which consists of sounds and combinations of letters. This last they call the created word.

¹ خلق القدرة والمقدور جميعا على الاختيار والاختيار جميعا 1. Ghazáli, quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 58.

Thus al-Ash'arí traversed the main positions of the Mu'tazilís, denying that man can by the aid of his reason alone rise to the knowledge of good and evil. He must exercise no judgment, but accept all that is revealed. He has no right to apply the moral laws which affect men to the actions of God. It cannot be asserted by the human reason that the good will be rewarded or the bad punished in a future world.¹ Man must always approach God as a slave, in whom there is no light or knowledge to judge of the actions of the Supreme. Whether God will accept the penitent sinner or not cannot be asserted, for He is an absolute Sovereign, above all law.²

The opinion of the more irrational subdivisions of the Şifátians need not be entered into at any length.

The Mushábihites (or Assimilators),³ interpreting some of the mutashábih verses literally, held that there is a resemblance⁴ between God and His

¹ The Mu'tazilís¹ taught that God must reward the good and punish the wicked.

² Ibn Khaldún (iii. 169) says 'The establishing of proofs (founded on reason) was adopted by the early scholastics for the subject of their treatises, but it was not, as with the philosophers, an attempt to arrive at the discovery of truth, and to obtain by means of this demonstration a knowledge of what had been hitherto unknown. The scholastics sought after intellectual proofs with a view to confirm dogmas, to justify the opinions of the early Muslims, and to rebut the erroneous doctrines of the innovators.'

³ 'As regards the views held on mutashábih verses by the Ahlu's-Sunnat, the Mushábihites held quite different views, but they considered the Qur'án to be eternal.' Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, pp. 85, 87.

⁴ 'It was a resemblance only. This body (God's) is not like the bodies¹ (of men):' Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, p. 87.

creatures. They quoted in support of their opinion a Tradition: 'My God met me, took my hand, embraced me and put one hand between my shoulders: when I felt His fingers they were cold.' They said that the Deity was capable of local motion, of ascending, descending, etc. These they called 'declarative attributes.'

The Mujassimians (or Corporealists) declared God to be corporeal, by which some of them meant a self-subsisting body, whilst others declared the Deity to be finite. They are acknowledged to be heretics.

The Jabaríans gave great prominence to the denial of free agency in man, and thus opposed the Mu'tazilís, who in this respect are Qadaríans, that is, they deny al-qadar, God's absolute sovereignty, and recognize free will in man. The Ash'aríans say of themselves that they are neither Jabaríans nor Qadaríans, but between the two.

These and various other subdivisions are not now of much importance. The Sunnis follow the teaching of al-Ash'arí, whilst the Shí'ahs incline to that of the Mu'tazilís.

Connected with the subject of the attributes of God is that of the names to be used when speaking of Him. The term Alláh is said to be the 'great name' (Ismu'l-A'zam); it is also the name of the divine essence (Ismu'dh-dhát): all other titles are names based on qualities or attributes (Asmá'aş-sifát). All sects agree in this, that the names 'the Living, the Wise, the Powerful, the Hearer, the Seer, the Speaker,' and so on, are to be applied to God; but the orthodox belief is that all such names

must be tauqífí, that is, dependent on some revelation. Thus it is not lawful to apply a name to God expressive of one of His attributes, unless there is some statement made or order given by Muḥammad to legalise it. God is rightly called Sháfí (healer), but He cannot be called Ṭabíb, which means much the same thing, for the simple reason that the word Ṭabíb is never applied in the Qur'án or the Traditions to God. In like manner the term 'Álim (knower) is lawful, but not so the expression 'Áqil (wise). Mu'tazilís say that if in the Qur'án or Traditions there is any praise of an attribute, then the adjective formed from the name of that attribute can be applied to God, even though the actual word does not occur in any revelation. Al-Ghazálí says: 'The names of God not given in the Law, if expressive of His glory, may be used of Him, but only as expressive of His attributes, not of His nature.' On the ground that it does not occur in the Law, the Persian word Khudá has been objected to, an objection which also holds good with regard to the use of such terms as God, Dieu, Gott. To this it is answered, that as Khudá means 'one who comes by himself,' it is equiva'ent to the term Wájibu'l-Wajúd, 'one who has necessary existence,' and therefore, so long as it is not considered as the Ismu'dh-dhát, it may with propriety be used.

The opinion now seems to be that the proper name equal to the term Alláh current in a language can be used; provided always that such a name is not taken from the language of the Infidels; so God, Dieu, Gott, still remain unlawful. The names of God authorized by the Qur'án and Traditions are,

exclusive of the term Alláh, ninety-nine in number.¹ They are called al-Asmá'u'l-Ḥusna the most excellent names, according to the verse, 'Most excellent names has God: by these call ye on Him, and stand aloof from those who pervert His titles'² (vii. 179). The recital of these names in connexion with a rosary is a form of the contemplation of God. In many cases it, no doubt, does help the religious life of a devout Muslim, but it is very apt to become an empty form, and, owing to its exaltation as a meritorious act, too often leads to spiritual pride. There is a Tradition to the effect that the Ismu'l-A'zam is known only to prophets and to saints, and that whosoever calls upon God by this name will obtain all his desires. The result is that Šúfis and Darwishes profess to spend much time in the search for this name, and, when they say they have found it, they acquire much influence over the superstitious.

The following texts of the Qur'án are adduced to prove the nature of the divine attributes:—

(1) Life. 'There is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal' (ii. 256). 'Put thy trust in Him that liveth and dieth not' (xxv. 60).

(2) Knowledge. 'Dost thou not see that God knoweth all that is in the heavens, and all that is in the earth.' (lviii. 8). 'With Him are the keys of the secret things; none knoweth them but He: He knoweth whatever is on the land and in the sea;

¹ The name of father is not found amongst them; so man must ever be to Him in the relation of a slave. He can never attain to the freedom and dignity of a son.

² The reference is to the idolatrous Arabs, who derived the names of their idols from the names of the true God; e.g. al-Lát from Alláh al-'Uzzá from al-'Azíz and so on. *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, i. 227.

and no leaf falleth but He knoweth it ; neither is there a grain in the darknesses of the earth, nor a thing green or sere, but it is noted in a distinct writing ' (vi. 59).

(3) Power. ' If God pleased, of their ears and of their eyes would He surely deprive them. Verily God is almighty ' (ii. 19). ' Is He not powerful enough to quicken the dead ? ' (lxxv. 40). ' God hath power over all things ' (iii. 159).

(4) Will. ' God is worker of that He willeth ' (lxxxv. 16). ' But if God pleased, He would surely bring them, one and all, to the guidance ' (vi. 35). ' God misleadeth whom He will, and whom He will He guideth—God doeth His pleasure ' (xiv. 4, 32). As this last attribute is closely connected with the article of the Creed which refers to *prédestination*, the different opinions regarding it will be stated under that head.

There has never been any difference of opinion as to the *existence* of these four attributes so clearly described in the Qur'án: the difference is with regard to the *mode* of their existence and their operation. There is the ancient Şifátian doctrine that the attributes are eternal and of the essence of God, the Mu'tazila theory that they are not eternal, and the Ash'arían dogma that they are eternal but distinct from His essence.

There is great difference of opinion with regard to the next three attributes of hearing, sight, speech. For the existence of the two first of these the following verses are quoted: ' He truly heareth and knoweth all things ' (xliiv. 5); ' No vision taketh in Him, but He taketh in all vision ' (vi. 103). The use of

the terms sitting, rising, hands, face, eyes, has also given rise to much difference of opinion. The commentator Baidáwí says: 'Certainly "sitting on the throne" is an attribute of God, but its manner is not known.' He considers the verse which speaks of it to be metaphorical (*mutashábih*). Al-Ghazáli says: 'He is seated firmly upon His throne after the manner which He has said, and in the sense which He Himself means, which is a sitting far removed from contact and fixity of location.' This is the Ash'arian idea. The followers of Imám ibn Ḥanbal say that such words represent the attributes existing in God. The words 'God sits on His throne' mean that He has the power of sitting. They say, 'We keep the literal meaning of the words; we allow no figurative interpretation. To do so is to introduce a dangerous principle of interpretation, for the negation of the apparent sense of a passage may tend to weaken the authority of revelation. At the same time we do not pretend to explain the act, for it is written, "There is none like unto Him" (cxii. 4); "There is none like unto Him" (xlii. 9); "Unworthy the estimate they form of God"' (xxii. 73). To prove that God occupies a place, they produce the following Tradition: 'Ibnu'l-Hákim wished to give liberty to a female slave, Sauda, and consulted the Prophet about it. Muḥammad said to her, "Where is God?" "In heaven," she replied. "Set her at liberty; she is a true believer."' Not, say the commentators, because she believed that God occupied a place, but because she

¹ *Iḥyá' 'ulūmu'd-din*, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 301.

took the words in their literal signification. The Shí'ahs consider it wrong to attribute to God movement and quiescence, for these imply the possession of a body. They hold, too, in opposition to the orthodox, that God will never be seen, for that which is seen is limited by space.

The seventh attribute, speech, has been fruitful of a very long and important controversy connected with the nature of the Qur'án, for the word *kalám* means not mere speech, but revelation and every other mode of communicating intelligence. *Al-Ghazálí* says : ' He doth speak, command, forbid, promise, and threaten by an eternal ancient word, subsisting in His essence. Neither is it like to the word of the creatures, nor doth it consist in a voice arising from the commotion of the air and the collision of bodies, nor letters which are separated by the joining together of the lips or the motion of the tongue. The Qur'án, the Law, the Gospel, and the Psalter are books sent down by Him to His apostles, and the Qur'án, indeed, is read with tongues, written in books, and is kept in hearts, yet, as subsisting in the essence of God,¹ it doth not become liable to separation and division whilst it is transferred into the hearts and on to paper. Thus Moses also heard the word of God without voice or letter, even as the saints behold the essence of God

¹ The orthodox believe the *kalám* to be of God's nature (*Qá'im bi Dhátihi*), as other attributes are, without reference to letters and sounds. (*Bázu'l-Ma'áni*, p. 14.) Others say it has two meanings (1) the eternal Word inherent in God's essence (*الكلام النفسى القديم العائم بذاته*) and (2) the spoken Word created by God (*الكلام اللغوى*).

without substance or accident.' ¹ An-Nasafí (d. A.H. 537) says : ' He whose majesty is majestic, speaks with a Word (kalám). This Word is a quality from all eternity . . . God Most High speaks with this Word, commanding and prohibiting and narrating. The Qur'án is the uncreated Word of God ' ² This is the Logos doctrine. The eternal kalám, or Word, is represented on earth by the uncreated Qur'án. Speaking of the Muslim view, Professor Macdonald says: ' This Logos is always *oratio* and no conception of *ratio* is allowed to enter . . . Alláh must be left a pure, unlimited Will, unlimited even by any process of reason within Himself.' (*The International Review of Missions*, October 1913, p. 666.) Abú Ḥanífa, in the *Wasiyát* (p. 3), says : ' The Qur'án is the kalámu'lláh, inspired, sent by Him, and His attribute. It is not He, nor other than He (la hú wa lá ghairahú) ; written in books, read with tongues, remembered in hearts, but not entering into them. The letters, ink, paper, writing—all these are created, for these are the work of servants. The kalám is not created, for the writing, letters, words, and verses are only the instruments of the Qur'án, needed for servants of God. He who says the kalám is created is a káfir.' Abú'l-Muntahá in the '*Aqá'id*' (p. 15) says: ' al-kalám is not created, but the letters, paper, and writing are, being the work of men ; these letters are the instruments of the Qur'án. If a person says the Word of God is

¹ See Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 300-7 for a translation of the first section of the *Ihyá'* which treats of the nature and attributes of God.

² Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 309.

created. he is a *káfir* : if he says it is created, meaning the *kalámu'n-nafsí*, he too is a *káfir* because he denies an eternal attribute : if he says *it* is created, meaning thereby only the words, etc., but not the eternal attribute, he commits a fault by this way of speaking, for his orthodoxy may be doubted.'

Though the words of the Qur'án which are read are recent, it is wrong to say the Qur'án is recent (*háðith*), except for the sake of instruction, such as a professor gives in a class.

The orthodox believe that God is really a speaker : the Mu'tazilís deny this, and say that He is only called a speaker because He is the originator of words and sounds. They also bring the following objections¹ to bear against the doctrine of the eternity of the Qur'án :—(1) It is written in Arabic, it descended, is read, is heard and is written. It was the subject of a miracle. It is divided into parts, and some verses are abrogated by others. (2) Events are described in the past tense, but if the Qur'án had been eternal the future tense would have been used. (3) The Qur'án contains commands and prohibitions ; if it is eternal, who were commanded and who were admonished ? (4) If it has existed from eternity it must exist to eternity, and so even in the last day, and in the next world, men will be under the obligation of performing the same religious duties as they do now, and of keeping all the outward precepts of the law. (5) If the Qur'án is

¹ For a detailed account of these views, see *Sharh-i-'Aqd'id-i-Jámi'* (ed. A.H. 1271) p. 83. The Ash'arian view is given on p. 84 of the same book.

eternal, then there are two eternals. (6) Men can produce its like in eloquence and arrangement.¹

The position thus assailed was not at first a hard and fast dogma of Islám. It was more a speculative opinion than anything else, but the opposition of the Mu'tazilís soon led all who wished to be considered orthodox to become stout assertors of the eternity of the Qur'án, and to give up their lives in defence of what they believed to be true. The Mu'tazilís, by asserting the subjective nature of the Qur'anic inspiration, brought the book itself within the reach of criticism. They looked upon it as the production of Muḥammad under divine influence, but maintained that it had a human side. The idea of an absolutely divine book placed a limit on their intellectual freedom. They recognized fully both the divine and human side of the Qur'án and could look on things which needed change or removal as part of the human element and so transitory. This reasonable view of the matter was inconsistent with the idea of a miraculous book sent down from heaven. The Mu'tazilís saw this quite clearly, and consistently rejected the orthodox belief in the eternity of the Qur'án. A more important objection arose from their view of God's qualities (*ṣifát*) and the limitation placed on them. They saw a danger, especially as regards the Kalám, of these qualities being hypostatized in separate persons like the persons in the Christian Trinity. Now all

¹ *Takmilu'l-Imán*, p. 60. This last objection seems to contradict the statements in *Súras.ii*, 21 ; xi, 16 ; xvii, 90 ; lii, 34-5 in which the Prophet challenges any one to produce a book like it. For a criticism of this claim, see *Ante*, p. 80.

this was too much for orthodox Islám to bear, even though the Khalífa Ma'mún in the year A.H. 212 issued a fatwá declaring that all who asserted the eternity of the Qur'án were guilty of heresy. Jalálu'd-Dín as-Syúfí, in his *History of the Khalífas* (p. 321) says : ' In the year A.H. 212 al-Ma'mún made public his doctrine on the non-creation of the Qur'án, but the people shrank from it with aversion, so for a while he remained quiet; but in the year 218 he wrote to his prefect in Baghdád, Ishâq bin Ibráhímu'l-Khuzá'í, as follows : " Verily the Prince of the Faithful is aware that the public at large, and the general herd of the rabble and vulgar mob, who have no insight nor knowledge, nor seek illumination from the light of wisdom and its demonstration, are a people ignorant of God and blind in regard to Him, and in error as to the truth of His doctrine, and fail to estimate Him according to the reality of His transcendence, and to arrive at a true knowledge of Him, and to distinguish between Him and His creature, and that inasmuch as they have formed an ill opinion of the difference between Him and His creation and what He hath revealed in the Qur'án, for they are agreed upon its being from the beginning, not created by God, nor produced by Him, yet the Most High hath said : " Verily we have made the same an Arabic Qur'án " (xl. 111). Now, indeed, whatever He hath made He hath created, as the Most High hath said : " Who hath created the heavens and the earth " (vi. 1), and " We relate unto thee the histories of the apostles " (xi. 121), namely, of what had previously occurred,

wherefore He announceth that He relateth events subsequent to which He produced the Qur'án.¹ Again He says : " This book, the verses of which are guarded against corruption, and are also distinctly explained " (xi. 1). Therefore is He the guardian of this book and its expounder. He is therefore its maker and originator.' The Khalífa goes on to accuse all who differ from him of spiritual pride, and calls them ' vessels of ignorance and beacons of falsehood, men whose testimony should be rejected.' He says to Isháq bin Ibráhím: ' Assemble the Qádis that are with thee, and read to them my letter, and question them as to what they maintain, and discover from them what they believe in regard to the creation of the Qur'án, and inform them that I seek no assistance in my service, nor do I put any confidence in one who is untrustworthy in his faith. If they allow it, and are of one accord, then command them to interrogate those witnesses that come before them as to their belief in the matter of the Qur'án.' Seven famous Qádis were accordingly sent for to hold a personal interview with al-Ma'mún. Many, including Hānbal,² Wálid, and other famous doctors, were also summoned to the presence of Isháq bin Ibráhím and examined. The following is a fair sample of what then took place. Isháq said to Ibnu'l-Baká, ' What dost thou say ? ' Baká replied, ' I declare,

¹ See also Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 3, 103.

² He, a strong man to whom scholastic theology was an abomination, was the hope of the orthodox. After the persecution was over, his influence was greatly strengthened and his disciples continued the conflict and maintained his principles long after the Mu'tazilis had passed away.

on the authority of the revealed text, that the Qur'án was made and brought into existence.' Ishaq said, 'And what is made is created?' 'Yes.' 'Therefore,' rejoined Ishâq, 'the Qur'án is created.' So nothing satisfactory came out of this inquiry, and al-Ma'mún wrote yet again: 'What the pretenders to orthodoxy and the seekers after the authority for which they are unfitted have replied has reached me. Now, whoso doth not admit that the Qur'án is created, suspend his exercise of judicial powers and his authority to relate Traditions.' Individual messages were also sent: 'Tell Bishar that if he denieth that the Qur'án is created, that his head shall be smitten off and sent to me.' To another he said, 'The sword is behind thee.' All were threatened, and were in mortal fear lest they should lose their lives, for al-Ma'mún, hearing that they had assented under compulsion only, had summoned them to his presence; but on their way they heard that he was dead.¹ 'Thus,' says the historian, 'the Lord was merciful to them and banished their fear.'

It was during the persecution carried on by the next Khalífa, al-Mu'tasim, that the Imám Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal was severely beaten and then imprisoned, because he refused to assent to the truth of the decree issued by the Khalífa al-Ma'mún in the year

¹ 'It did not matter that he (Ma'mún) ranged himself on the progressive side; his fatal error was that he invoked the authority of the State in matters of the intellectual and religious life. Thus, by enabling the conservative party to pose as martyrs, he brought the prejudices and passions of the populace still more against the new movement. He was that most dangerous of all beings, a doctrinaire despot.' Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 154.

A.H. 212. Al-Buwaiti, a famous disciple of ash-Sháfi'í, used an ingenious argument to fortify his own mind when being punished by the order of the K̤halífa. He was taken all the way from Cairo to Baghdád, and told to confess that the Qur'án was created. On his refusal, he was imprisoned at Baghdád, and there remained in chains till the day of his death. As ar-Rábí ibn Sulaymán says : ' I saw al-Buwaiti mounted on a mule : round his neck was a wooden collar, on his legs were fetters, from these to the collar extended an iron chain to which a clog was attached weighing fifty pounds. Whilst they led him on he continued repeating these words, " Almighty God created the world by means of the word Be ! Now, if that word was created, one created thing would have created another ; " ' which he held to be impossible. Al-Buwaiti here refers to the verse, ' Verily our speech unto a thing when We will the same is that We only say to it " Be," and it is—(kun fayakúna) ' (xxxvi. 82). This, in the way al-Buwaiti applied it, is a standing argument of the orthodox to prove that the Qur'án was not created.¹

When times changed men were put to death for holding just the opposite opinion. The Imám ash-Sháfi'í held a public disputation in Baghdád with Hafs, a Mu'tazila preacher, on this very point. Sháfi'í quoted the verse, ' God said Be, and it is,'

¹ The verse, ' Nay, but it (Qur'án) is a warning, written on honoured pages, exalted, purified ' (lxxx. 11-12), is said to refer to the eternal copy on the Lauḥu'l-Mahfúz, or the Preserved Table ; but Zamakhsharí, a Mu'tazila commentator, says that the words ' honoured pages ' refer to books of preceding prophets with which the Qur'án agrees in substance.

and asked, 'Did not God create all things by the word Be?' Ḥafṣ assented, for, unlike al-Buwaiti, he considered it quite possible. 'If then the Qur'án was created, must not the word Be have been created with it?' Ḥafṣ could not deny so plain a proposition. 'Then,' said Sháfi'í, 'all things, according to you, were created by a created being, which is a gross inconsistency and manifest impiety.' Thus he too proved to his own satisfaction that the Qur'án was not created. Ḥafṣ who had asserted that it was created, was reduced to silence, and such an effect had Sháfi'í's logic on the audience that they put Ḥafṣ to death as a pestilent heretic. In this way did the Ash'arían opinions of the subject of the divine attributes again gain the mastery.

The Mu'tazilís failed, and the reason why is plain.¹ They were, as a rule, influenced by no high spiritual motives; often they were mere quibblers. They sought no light in an external revelation. Driven to a reaction by the rigid system they combated, they would have made reason alone their

¹ 'The Mu'tazilites, on their side, having seen the shipwreck of their hopes and the growing storm of popular disfavour, seem to have turned again to their scholastic studies. They became more and more theologians affecting a narrower circle, and less and less educators of the world at large. Their system became more metaphysical and their conclusions more unintelligible to the plain man. The fate which has fallen on all continued efforts of the Muslim mind was coming upon them. Beggarly speculations and barren hypotheses, combats of words over names, sapped them of life and reality.' (Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 158).

'It was felt that these men were no true believers. They were going astray after Greek philosophers and destroying all certainty in religion. They would have had a stronger position if they had been Greek enough to see that reason is itself a spark of the divine in man; but they could not set aside the first principle of Islám that there is nothing human in God, nothing divine in man.' Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God*, 1-125.

chief guide. The nobler spirits among them were impotent to regenerate the faith they professed to follow. It was, however, a great movement, and at one time it threatened to change the whole nature of Islám. This period of Muslim history, famed as that in which the effort was made to cast off the fetters of the rigid system which Islám was gradually tightening by the increased authority given to traditionalism and to the refinements of the four Imáms, was undoubtedly a period of, comparatively speaking, high civilization. Baghdád, the capital of the Khalífate, was a busy, populous, well-governed city. This it mainly owed to the influence of the Persian family of the Barmekides, one of whom was Vizier to the Khalífa Hárúnu'r-Rashíd.¹ Hárún's fame as a good man is quite undeserved. It is true that he was a patron of learning, that his empire was extensive, that he gained many victories, that his reign was the culminating point of Arab grandeur. But for all that, he was a morose despot, a cruel man, thoroughly given up to pleasures of a very questionable nature. Drunkenness, in this brilliant period of Muslim history, is said to have been common at court.² Imám Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says: 'A man came to me and said: "May I say namáz behind an Imám who drinks wine?" I replied, "No." He again said: "May I say it after one who

¹ See Sell, *Umayyads and 'Abbasids* (C.L. S.) pp. 73-81.

² It is, however, only fair to state that Ibn Khaldún (i, 35-6) maintains that what they drank was date-wine or date-wort (*nabíd*), which, according to the tenets of the Ḥanifí sect, is not unlawful. He considers that drunkenness was a crime of which they were not capable, but the effort which he makes to avert the suspicion seems to show that it was very generally believed.

says that the Qur'án is created ? ” I replied, “ What ! have I forbidden you to say it after a Musálmán, and wilt thou say it after an infidel ? ” ‘ The man who drank remained a Muslim, the man who exercised freedom of thought became an infidel—a curious illustration of the relative value attached to what was deemed moral and speculative error. Plots and intrigues were ever at work. Such was the state of one of the greatest periods of Muslim rule, a time most favourable for the development of any good which Islám might have possessed. Whatever glory is attached to this period is, however, connected with an epoch when heresy was specially prevalent and orthodoxy was weak in Baghdád. The culture of the time was in spite of, not on account of, the influence of orthodox Islám.

Colonel Osborn says: ¹ ‘ The free-thinkers (Mu'tazilís) left no traces of themselves except in the controversial treatises they had written. These were destroyed, and with their destruction, the last vestiges of the conflict between free thought and the spirit of Islám were obliterated.’ ² This was true a few years ago, but recent movements in India show that the influence of the Mu'tazilís is not altogether lost. Thus, a recent Muslim writer,

¹ *Islám under the Khalifs*, p. 148.

² ‘ The political power of the Mu'tazilís ceased soon after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, the tenth 'Abbásid Caliph (A.D. 847), but the school was powerfully represented nearly three centuries later, by Zamakhsharí the great commentator of the Qur'án.’ ‘ Abú'l-Husain of Baṣra, a contemporary of Iba Síná, was the last who gave independent treatment to their teaching ’ (Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 289.) Muir calls the Mu'tazila development a ‘ perversion of Islám ’ and says, ‘ the Prophet, had he revisited the earth, would hardly have recognized his own religion ’ (*Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 451).

speaking of the development and growth of new ideas amongst Indian Musalmáns, goes on to use these words : ' Belonging, as I do, to the little known, though not unimportant, philosophical and legal school of the Mu'tazilís, and thus occupying a vantage-ground of observation as regards the general progress of ideas among other sections of the Musalmáns in India, I cannot but observe the movement which has been going on for some time among them. The advancement of culture and the development and growth of new ideas have begun to exercise the same influence on them as on other races and peoples. The younger generation is tending unconsciously towards the Mu'tazila doctrines.'¹ I have already shown that the general tendency of the Mu'tazila movement was towards a more liberal view of inspiration and the use of reason in matters of religion. This view has been now reasserted with much force by Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí Şáhib, a great scholar in both eastern and western learning, formerly a distinguished official in the service of the Nizám of Haidarábád. He says : ' A prophet is neither immaculate nor infallible. A prophet feels that his mind is illumined by God, and the thoughts which are expressed by him and spoken or written under this influence are to be regarded as the words of God. This illumination of the mind, or effect of the divine influence, differs in the prophet according to the capacity of the recipient, or according to the circumstances—physical and moral and religious—in which he is placed.'² This is quite contrary

¹ Syed Amír 'Alí, *Personal Law of the Mohámmedans*, p. xi.

² Cherágh 'Alí, *Critical Exposition of Jihád*, p. lxix.

to the orthodox view of inspiration, or waḥí, and is not in accordance with the received teaching of the orthodox divines ; nor, so far as I know, has this liberal view ever been propounded by a Musalmán scholar unacquainted with western and Christian modes of thought. Another writer, approaching the subject from a different standpoint, says : 'The present stagnation of the Muḥammadan community is principally due to the notion which has fixed itself in the minds of the generality of Muslims that the right to the exercise of private judgment ceased with the early legists, that its exercise in modern times is sinful, that a Muslim, in order to be regarded as an orthodox follower of Muḥammad, should abandon his judgment absolutely to the interpretations of men who lived in the ninth century and could have no conception of the nineteenth. . . . No account is taken of the altered circumstances in which Muslims are now placed. The conclusions at which these learned legists arrived several centuries ago are held to be equally applicable to the present day.' ¹

I have shown in the first chapter of this book that the glory of orthodox Islám is the finality of the revelation and of its law, and that its fixed and final nature is the real barrier to any enlightened improvement in purely Muḥammadan States. This is also admitted by the men whom we may call the modern Mu'tazilís. Syed Amír 'Alí says: 'The Church and State were linked together; the Khalíf was the Imám—temporal chief as well as spiritual head. With the advance of time, and as despotism

¹ Syed Amír 'Alí, *Spirit of Islám*, p. 287.

fixed itself upon the habits and customs of the people, and as the Khalíf became the arbiter of their fate, without check or hindrance from jurisconsult or legist, patristicism took hold of the minds of all classes of society. . . . What had been laid down by the Fathers is unchangeable and beyond the range of discussion. The Faith may be carried to the land of the Esquimaux, but it must go with rules framed for the guidance of 'Iráqians.'¹ Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí writes in the same strain: 'Slavish adherence to the letter, and the taking not the least notice of the spirit of the Qur'án, is the sad characteristic of the Qur'anic interpreters and of the deductions of the Muḥammadan doctors. . . . There are certain points in which the Common Law is irreconcilable with the modern needs of Islám, whether in India or in Turkey, and requires modification. . . . It was only from some oversight on the part of the compilers of the Common Law that, in the first place, the civil precepts of a transitory nature, and as a mediate step leading to a higher reform, were taken as final; and, in the second place, the civil precepts adapted for the dwellers of the Arabian desert were pressed upon the necks of all ages and countries. A social system for barbarism ought not to be imposed on a people already possessing higher forms of civilization.'²

These quotations fully support all that I have said in previous pages on this subject. It is true that all this is not approved; indeed it is severely condemned. Still these statements do bear witness to

¹ Syed Amír 'Alí, *Spirit of Islám*, p. 521.

² Cherágh 'Alí, *Reforms under Moslem Rule*, p. ii.

the accuracy of the conclusions, at which European writers competent to deal with the subject have arrived. These statements also show that the deductions made by such European writers from the history of the past, and from Muslim theological literature have been correct. Palgrave, for example, says nothing stronger than these Indian Muḥammadan writers state when, speaking of the stagnation of Islām, he says: 'We cannot refrain from remarking that the Islāmic identification of religion and law is an essential defect in the system, and a serious hindrance to the development of good government and social progress.'

From the writings of these enlightened Musalmáns it is clear that to the Shari'at, as viewed in its finality by the orthodox, the following objections more or less apply, namely, that an imperfect code of ethics has been made a permanent standard of good and evil and a final irrevocable law; that the Shari'at deals with precepts rather than with principles; that it has led to formality of worship; that by it Islām is rendered stationary and unable to adapt itself to the varying circumstances of time and place. In order to remove these difficulties, it is said that the Shari'at is not really the sacred and final code which the canonical legists have stated it to be; but that it is Common Law which can be changed when circumstances require it. Thus. Maulavi Cherágh 'Alí says: 'The Muḥammadan Common Law or Shari'at, if it can be called Common Law, as it does not contain any Statute Law, is by no means unchangeable or unalterable.'¹ 'The

¹ Cherágh 'Alí, *Critical Exposition of Jihād*, p. xcii.

legislation of the Muḥammadan Common Law cannot be called immutable; on the contrary, it is changeable and progressive.' ¹ I am not aware that any responsible Muḥammadan ruler holds this view that the Sharí'at is Common Law and therefore changeable, nor has any Musalmán State, so far as I know, except when compelled by some stronger and more civilized non-Muslim Government, attempted to make any such changes. The Sultán of Turkey, who, as the nominal Khalífa, is the religious head and guide of the Sunní Musalmáns has, at times, to bend to the superior will and power of his stronger neighbours and to make departures from the Sharí'at; but this, which to the orthodox mind is a dereliction of duty, is excused because he must submit to *force majeure*. It is indeed fully admitted by the men of what we may call the New Islám in India that the great body of the authorized teachers of the past is against them; but it is said that no 'regard is to be paid to the opinions and theories of the Muqallids.' ²

The movement of the ancient Mu'tazilís was almost entirely an intellectual one; they left moral questions alone. In this respect the modern Mu'tazilís are far ahead of their predecessors. It would take me far beyond my subject to pursue this aspect of the case; but the opinion of some of the most cultured and enlightened of the Indian Musalmáns is in full accordance with the words of Syed Amír 'Alí, who says: 'The conviction is gradually forcing

¹ Cherágh 'Alí, *Reforms under Moslem Rule*, p. xiii.

² *Ibid*, p. vii.

itself on all sides, in all advanced Muslim communities, that polygamy is as much opposed to the teachings of Muḥammad as it is to the general progress of civilized society and true culture.’¹ The statement that polygamy is opposed to the teachings of Muḥammad cannot be substantiated; but the fact that many enlightened Musalmáns now repudiate the practice is correct. Although the liberal views of these writers to whom I have referred do not alter the fact of the non-progressive nature of Islám, nor show that the opinions of the orthodox theologians are not correct; yet this movement, on the part of men deeply influenced by western culture and affected by the environment of a higher civilization, towards freedom of thought and a truer moral life is one of the deepest interest. It is not in lands under Muslim rule where the Law and Faith of Islám have full sway, but in British India we find men of these advanced views. They are entirely out of touch with the many millions of Indian Muslims who repudiate entirely all such liberal ideas.² The popular opinion, which classes

¹ Syed Amír ‘Alí, *Spirit of Islám*, p. 327.

² ‘A remarkable instance of enlightened Muḥammadanism has recently been seen in Syed Amír ‘Alí’s *Spirit of Islám*, in which the Ijmá’, or scholastic tradition, is wholly set aside; the right of private interpretation of the Qur’án is maintained, and the adaptability of Islám to the most advanced ideas of civilization is warmly upheld. But such men as Syed Amír ‘Alí are very rare, and cannot strictly be called Muslims; no respectable member of the ‘Ulamá, or religious jurists, would tolerate them. They may be Islámitical theists—just as there is a theism formed upon Christianity—but they are not orthodox Muslims. To the true Muḥammadan, authority is everything, and his authority, the Qur’án, Sunna and Ijmá’, tells them. . . .’ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Studies in a Mosque*, p. 324.

them as persons who have rejected a revealed religion for a mere religion of nature, is not correct; but the fact that they are so looked upon detracts materially from their claim to be regarded as trustworthy exponents of Islám as it has been, and is now, known and received in all Muslim lands. If Islám possesses in itself all the regenerative power claimed for it, if the wonderful words of the Prophet breathed new force and infused new life into the dormant heart of humanity, if the Arabs went forth inspired by the teaching of Muhammad to 'elevate and civilize,' we may surely look to Arabia to see some fruit of it all. Yet that land, the centre of Islám under its most revered teachers, the Muftis of the great legal systems; the home of its most sacred spot, a pilgrimage to which ensures salvation; the land in which its sacred language—the language of the uncreated Qur'án and so of heaven—is the mother-tongue of the people; this land is now far behind almost every other land, Christian or non-Christian, in the world to-day.¹ The backward state of Muhammadan nations is sometimes said to be due to the invasion of the Mogul hordes; but these men accepted Islám. Other peoples have suffered from invaders, fierce and strong; but ferocious though the Visigoth, Frank and Vandals were, that ferocity was dissipated by the light of the civilization they had tried to extinguish, and were fitted to be the leaders in the world by the religion they accepted. It has not been so with the Turk.

¹ This was so before the Great War: it may be that the influence of western and Christian civilization and influence will lead to great material development and to intellectual advance in the future.

If his failure is due to racial and national characteristics, how is it that the religion which is said 'to elevate and civilize,' to be a beneficent force in the world has here so utterly failed? At very wide intervals there have been brilliant periods under Muslim rule; but it has always been when heterodoxy has been supreme, as in the day of al-Ma'mún at Baghdád and under Akbar in India. The Moors in Spain attained to some degree of culture, which they entirely lost when they retired to Africa. A modern Muslim writer accounts for this by saying that 'the retention of culture depends on the surroundings,'¹ a statement which unwittingly admits that not to Islám, but to the Christian and Jewish culture of Spain the Moors owed what they then had gained.

Still, the protest against the traditionalism of the past and the bigotry of the present is a noble one and, if we place it in its true relation to orthodox Islám, we may watch its growth with much interest. It will raise individuals, purify the family life, stir up in its adherents a desire for useful knowledge, and create a more tolerant and liberal spirit; but on Islám generally as a religion and a polity its effect will, at least for a very long time, be small.²

With this digression we must now return to the consideration of the second article of the creed.

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, September 1895, p. 378.

² For a good account of 'The New Islám in India, by Dr Westbrecht, see *Muhammadanism in the World to-day*, pp. 187-204. On the general question of modernism in Islám, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Muhammadanism*, pp. 90-1.

2. ANGELS.—Of this article of the creed Muhammad al-Barkavi says :—

We must confess that God has angels who act according to His order, and who do not rebel against Him. They neither eat nor drink, nor is there amongst them any difference of sex. They are on earth, and in heaven. Some have charge of men and record all their actions. Some angels are high in stature and are possessed of great power. Such an one is Gabriel (Jibrá'il) who in the space of one hour can descend from heaven to earth, and who with one wing can lift up a mountain.

We must believe in 'Izrá'il, who receives the souls of men when they die, and in Isráfil, into whose charge is committed the trumpet. When he receives the order, he will blow such a terrible blast that all living things will die. This is the commencement of the last day ¹ (xxxix. 68-9 : vi. 93).

This confession of faith makes no mention of Miká'il (Michael) the fourth of the archangels. His special duty is to see that all created beings have what is needful for their sustenance. Isráfil is said to have a very pleasant voice, to which an allusion is made in the *Mathnawi* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rûmî, where a good minstrel is spoken of as one whose song is,

Like voice of Isráfil, whose trump on Judgment Day
Will wake the dead to life ; his made the saddest gay.

The one desire of angels is to love and to know God. 'All beings in the heaven and on the earth

¹ At the hour of death, 'Izrá'il, with the aid of his assistants, draws the spirit of the dying man up to the throat, and, piercing it with a poisonous lance, detaches it from the body. To the wicked his appearance is terrible, to the faithful his shape is lovely and his assistants look like angels of mercy. Dr. Fairbairn (quoted by Phillips, *The Teaching of the Vedas*. p. 165) says : 'The Homeric men believed that the soul so soon as death loosened its bands, quitted the body by the mouth or by a mortal wound.' So the Muslim idea is not original.

are His : and they who are in His presence disdain not His service, neither are they wearied ; they praise Him day and night ' (xxi. 19, 20). They are free from all sin. They did not wish for the creation of Adam, and this may seem like a want of confidence in God, but their object was not to oppose God, but to relieve their minds of the doubts they had in the matter. Thus, ' When the Lord said to the angels, " Verily, I am about to place one in my stead on earth," they said : " Wilt thou place there one who will do ill therein, and shed blood when we celebrate thy praise and extol thy holiness ? " God said : " Verily I know what ye know not " ' (ii. 28). It is also true that Iblís was disobedient, but then he belonged not to the angelic order, but to that of the jinn. ' When We said to the angels, " Prostrate yourselves before Adam," they all prostrated themselves save Iblís, who was of the jinn, and revolted from his Lord's behest ' (xviii. 48 ; ii. 33).¹

Angels sometimes appear in human form, but usually they are invisible. They intercede for man : ' The angels celebrate the praise of their Lord and ask forgiveness for the dwellers on earth ' (xlii. 3). They also act as guardian angels : ' Each hath a succession of angels before him and behind him, who watch over him by God's behest ' (xiii. 12). ' Is it not enough for you that your Lord aideth you with three thousand angels sent down from on high ? ' (iii. 120). ' Supreme over His servants, He sendeth forth guardians who watch over you, until, when

¹ See also Sûras ii. 32 ; xvii. 63 ; xx. 115. Probably Muḥammad got the idea from Heb. i. 6 and thought that the ' first-begotten ' meant not Christ, but Adam. Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'an*, p. 196.

death overtaketh any one of you, our messengers take his soul and fail not' (vi. 61). In the Traditions it is said that God has appointed for every man two angels to watch over him by day, and two by night. The one stands on the right-hand side of the man, the other on his left. They are called the *Mua'qqibát*, i.e. those who succeed one another : also 'the illustrious recorders' or *Kiráman Kátibín* (lxxxii. 10). They are referred to in the *Qur'án*. 'They think that We hear not their secrets and their private talk? Yes, and our angels who are at their sides write them down' (xliii. 80). 'Truly they are the guardians over you, illustrious recorders, cognisant of your actions' (lxxxii. 10). 'When the two angels charged with taking account shall take it, the one sitting on the right hand, the other on the left' (l. 16). A Tradition records that the angel on the right hand is more merciful than the angel on the left. If the latter has to record a bad action, the other says, 'Wait a little for seven hours; perhaps he may pray for or ask pardon.'¹ There is an angel who rolls up the record takèn by the 'illustrious recorders.' 'On that day We will roll up the heavens as *Sijil* rolls up the books' (xxi. 104). It is said that *Sijil* is the name of the angel who rolls up the Books of Actions;² or the name of a written scroll, in which case the writing would be even 'as the rolling up of the written scroll.' At the last day

¹ 'When a Muslim at *Madína* blesses the Prophet, the angels are not allowed to record his sins for three days, thus giving him time for repentance.' Burton, *Pilgrimage to al-Madínah and Mecquh*, i. 314.

² *Baiḍáwí*, i. 625.

'every soul shall come and with it (angels) a driver and a witness' (l. 20). This idea is taken from an apocryphal work, *The Testament of Abraham* (p. 90). Abraham sees two fierce angels dragging the souls before the judge for trial.

There are eight angels who support the throne of God. 'And the angels shall be on its sides, and over them on that day eight shall bear up the throne of thy Lord' (lxix. 17). Nineteen have charge of hell. 'Over it are nineteen. None but angels have We made guardians of the fire' (lxxiv. 30).

There is a special arrangement made by Providence to mitigate the evils of Satanic interference. 'Iblis,' remarks Jābir Maghrabī, 'though able to assume all other forms, is not permitted to appear in the semblance of the Deity, or any of His angels or prophets. There would otherwise be much danger to human salvation, as he might, under the appearance of one of the prophets, or of some superior being, make use of this power to seduce men to sin.'¹

The story of Hārūt and Mārūt² is of some interest from its connexion with the question of the impeccability of the angels. Speaking of those who reject God's Apostle, the Qur'ān says: 'And they followed what the Satans read in the reign of Solomon; not

¹ So the Arab proverb. 'When the angels present themselves the devils abscond'—*إذا حضرت الملائكة غابت الشياطين*.

² This story is taken from Jewish writers and two angels called Horot and Morot were in ancient times worshipped by the pagan Armenians who seem to have obtained the custom from the Persians. In the *Avesta*, Horot and Morot are known as Haurvat and Ameretāt, Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'dn*, p. 99.

that Solomon was unbelieving, but the Satans were unbelieving. Sorcery did they teach to men, and what had been revealed to the two angels Hárút and Márút at Bábul. Yet no man did these two teach until they had said, "We are only a temptation. Be thou not an unbeliever" (ii. 96). The story goes that in the time of the prophet Enoch, when the angels saw the bad actions of men, they said : ' O Lord ! Adam and his descendants, whom Thou hast appointed as Thy vicegerents on earth, act disobediently.' To which the Lord replied : ' If I were to send you on earth, and to give you lustful and angry dispositions, you too would sin.' The angels thought otherwise ; so God told them to select two of their number who should undergo this ordeal. They selected two renowned for devotion and piety. God having implanted in them the passions of lust and anger, said : ' All day go to and fro on the earth, put an end to the quarels of men, ascribe no equal to Me, do not commit adultery, also drink no wine, and every night repeat the Ismu'l-A'zam, and return to heaven.' This they did for some time, but at length a beautiful woman named Zuhra (Venus) led them astray. One day she brought them a cup of wine. One said : ' God has forbidden it ; ' the other, ' God is merciful and forgiving.' So they drank the wine, killed the husband of Zuhra, to whom they revealed the 'exalted name,' and fell into grievous sin. Immediately after, they found that the 'name' had gone from their memories, and so they could not return to heaven as usual. They then begged Enoch to intercede for them. The prophet did so,

and with such success that the angels were allowed to choose between a present or a future punishment. They elected to be punished here on earth. They were then suspended with their heads downwards in a well at Bābul. Some say that angels came and whipped them with rods of fire, and that a fresh spring ever flowed just beyond the reach of their parched lips. The woman was changed to a star. Some assert that it was a shooting star which has now passed out of existence. Others say that she is the star Venus.

The Qāḍī 'Ayáz, Imám Fakhru'd-Dín Rázi (A.H. 544-606), Qāḍī Nāṣiru'd-Dín Baidāwī (A.H. 620-685), and most scholastic divines deny the truth of this story. They say that angels are immaculate, but this does not meet the difficulty which the Qur'án itself raises in connexion with Hárút and Márút. As to the woman, they think the whole story absurd, not only because the star Venus was created before the time of Adam, but also because it is inconceivable that one who was so wicked should have the honour of shining in heaven for ever. A solution, however, they are bound to give, and it is this : magic is a great art which God must allow mankind to know. The dignity of the order of prophets is so great that they cannot teach men what is confessedly hurtful. Two angels were therefore sent, and so men can now distinguish between the miracles of prophets, the signs of saints, the wonders of magicians and others. Then Hárút and Márút always discouraged men from learning magic. They said to those who came to them, 'We are only a temptation. Be not thou

an unbeliever.' Others assert that it is a Jewish allegory,¹ in which the two angels represent reason and benevolence, the woman the evil appetites. The woman's ascent to heaven represents death.

To this solution of the difficulty, however, the great body of the Traditionists do not agree. They declare that the story is a *Ḥadīthu's-Ṣaḥīḥ*,² and that the isnad is sound and good. Such divines are Imám ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Ma'súd, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn 'Abbás, Ḥáfiz 'Asqallání, and others. They all say that angels are immaculate only so long as they remain in the angelic state ; that, though confined, Hárút and Márút can teach magic, for a word or two is quite sufficient for that purpose ; that some men have no fear, and, if they have, it is quite conceivable that the two angels may teach through the instrumentality of devils or jinn. With regard to the woman Zuhra, they grant that to be changed into a bright star is of the nature of a reward ; but they say the desire to learn the 'exalted name' was so meritorious an act that the good she desired outweighed the evil she did. With regard to the date of the creation of the star Venus, it is said that all our astronomical knowledge is based on observations made since the Flood, whereas this story relates to the times of Enoch, who lived before the days of Noah. So the dispute goes on, and men of great repute for learning and knowledge believe in the story, although it seems to discredit the orthodox theory of the sinlessness of angels.

¹ It was borrowed from a Jewish source. See Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'an*, pp. 98-108.

² *Ante*, p. 131.

Munkar and Nakir¹ are two fierce-looking black angels, who visit every man in his grave, and examine him with regard to his faith in God and in Muḥammad. Some authorities say that the spirit of the believer immediately after death passes through the seven heavens into the presence of God, then returns to the body in time for this examination. The dead are supposed to dwell in 'Ālamu'l-barzakh,² a state of existence intervening between the present life and the life of mankind after the resurrection. This is the meaning of the word 'grave' when used in this connexion. Unbelievers and wicked Muslims suffer trouble in that state; true believers who can give a good answer to the angels are happy. There is a difference of opinion with regard to children. The general belief is that the children of believers will be questioned, but that the angels will teach them to say, 'Allāh is my Lord, Islām my religion, and Muḥammad my Prophet.' With regard to the questioning of the children of unbelievers, Imām Abū Ḥanīfa hesitated to give an opinion. He also doubted about their punishment. Some think they will be in A'rāf, a place between heaven and hell; others suppose that they will be servants to the true believers in Paradise. The verse, 'Twice, O our

¹ 'These are two awful and terrible beings who will cause the creature to sit up in his grave, complete, both soul and body; and they will ask him, "Who is thy Lord, and what is thy religion (dīn), and who is thy prophet?" They are the two testers in the grave and their questioning is the first thing after death.' Al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyā' 'ulūmu'd-dīn*, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 305.

² For the Aḥmadiyya conception of 'Ālamu'l-barzakh, see Walter, *The Aḥmadiyya Movement*, p. 62.

Lord, hast thou given us death, and twice hast thou given us life ' (xl. 11), is said to refer to the visit of these angels. It is said in the *Tafsír-i-ibn 'Abbás*, that death takes place in the world, and again a second time after the corpse has been raised to answer the questioning in the grave : life is thus given temporarily in the grave, and will be given again at the general resurrection.

The angel in charge of heaven, the guardian of Paradise, is called Ridwán : the angel in charge of hell is Málik. He presides over the torments of the lost. ' They shall cry " O Málik ! would that thy Lord would make an end of us ! " He saith : " Here ye must remain " ' (xliii. 77).

Distinct from the angels there is another order of beings made of fire, called jinn (genii),¹ created thousands of years before Adam came into existence. ' We created man of dried clay, of dark loam moulded, and the jinn had been before created of subtle fire ' (xv. 26-7). They eat, drink, propagate their species, and are subject to death, though they generally live many centuries. Some are believers in Islám ; some are infidels, and will be punished. ' I will wholly fill hell with jinn and men ' (xi. 120). The *Súratu'l-Jinn* (lxxii) refers to their belief in Islám. Their earnest desire to hear the Qur'án is referred to in the verse, ' When the servant of God stood up to call upon him, they almost jostled him by their crowds ' (lxxii. 19). All the commentators say the phrase ' servant of God ' refers to Muḥammad and the word ' they ' to the jinn. Some try to

For the Persian origin of the word, see Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'án*, p. 249.

hear what is going on in heaven. 'We guard them (i.e. men) from every stoned Satan, save such as steal a hearing' (xv. 18). They were under the power of Solomon and served him (xxxviii. 36). An 'Ifrít of the jinn said, 'I will bring it thee (Solomon) ere thou risest from thy place : I have power for this, and am trusty' (xxvii. 39). At the last day the jinn also will be questioned. Abú Hanífa doubted whether the jinn who are Muslims will be rewarded. The unbelieving jinn will assuredly be punished. Tradition classifies them in the following order : (1) Jánn, (2) Jinn, (3) Shaitán, (4) 'Ifrít, (5) Márid. Many fables have been invented concerning these beings, and, though intelligent Muslims may doubt these wonderful accounts, yet a belief in the order of jinn is imperative, at least as long as there is belief in the Qur'án.¹

The teaching of Islám² about the angels, the jinn, the work and nature of evil spirits and the Húrís, is derived from Zoroastrian or Magian sources directly, or indirectly through the medium of later Jewish legends, and shows how much Muḥammad borrowed from Pagan sources.³

¹ Those who wish to know more of this subject will find a very interesting chapter on it in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (i, 281-9) and in Macdonald's *Religious Attitude and Life in Islám*, Lecture v.

² See Geiger, *Judaism and Islám* (ed. S P.C.K., Madras) a translation of *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (ed. Bonn, 1833), pp. 62-4, and Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'án*, p. 84

³ 'At Mecca there were idols in every house and a lively trade in gods was done with the Bedouins. But a whole class of such gods as directly arise from totemism survived Islám by being simply transmuted into jinn.' Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 211.

3. THE BOOKS.—Al-Barkavi says :—

It is necessary to believe that the books of God have been sent through the instrumentality of Gabriel to prophets upon the earth. The Qur'án was sent to Muḥammad portion by portion during a space of twenty-three years. The Pentateuch came to Moses, the Injíl to Jesus, the Zabúr to David, and the other books to other prophets. The whole number of the divine books is one hundred and four. The Qur'án, the last of all, is to be followed till the day of judgment. It can neither be abrogated nor changed. Some laws of the previous books have been abrogated by the Qur'án, and ought not to be followed.

The one hundred to which no distinctive name is given are known as the *Ṣuḥúfu'l-Anbiyá'*—Books of the Prophets. The Qur'án is also known as the Furqán, the distinguisher; the Qur'ánu Sharíf, noble Qur'án; the Qur'ánu Majíd, glorious Qur'án; the Muṣḥaf, the Book. It is said to be the compendium of the Taurát, Zabúr, and Injíl; so Muslims do not require to study these books. The orthodox belief is that they are entirely abrogated by the Qur'án,¹ though Sir Syed Aḥmad, in his commentary on the Bible (i. 268), denounces as ignorant and foolish those Musalmáns who say so. Their inspiration is considered to be of a lower order than that of the Qur'án. A large portion of the Injíl is looked upon as mere narrative. The actual words only of Christ are considered as the revelation which descended from heaven. It is so in the case of the Old Testament prophets. 'However, it was

¹ *Sharḥ-i-'Aqd'id-i-Jámi*, p. 147: 'Mansúkh shud tiláwátan wa kitábatan,' i.e. abrogated both as regards reading and writing. Also *Takmilu'l-Imán*, p. 64: 'This religion abrogates all religions'—*Dín-i-wai násiḥ-i-jámi'* adíán ast.

the rule to call a book by the name of the prophet, whether the subject-matter was pure doctrine only, or whether it was mixed up with narrative also. . . . It is to be observed that, in the case of our own Prophet, the revelations made to him were intended to impart a special miracle of eloquence, and they were written down, literally and exactly, in the form in which they were communicated, without any narrative being inserted in them. . . . We do not consider that the Acts of the Apostles, or the various Epistles, although unquestionably very good books, are to be taken as part and parcel of the New Testament itself ; nevertheless we look upon the writings of the Apostles in the same light as we do the writings of the Companions of our own Prophet ; that is to say, as entitled to veneration and respect.' ¹

There are many verses in the Qur'án which speak of previous revelations, thus : 'When a prophet came to them from God, *attesting that (Scripture) which is with them*, a part of those to whom the Book was given cast the book of God behind their backs, as if they knew not' (ii. 95). On this Baiḍáwí says : 'They cast it away,' i.e. they acted in respect of the testimony of the Taurát to the Prophet, as if they knew not that he was the true Prophet 'and it *the book of God*.' Again, 'O ye people of the Book ! why do ye deny the revelation of God, and yet ye are witnesses of the same ?' (iii. 68). By the 'revelation' is meant the Taurát and the Injíl, which Musalmáns now say foretold Muḥammad's advent as a prophet of God. 'And how shall they make thee judge, since they already

¹ Sir Syed Aḥmad, *Commentary on the Holy Bible*, i. 22, 31.

know the Taurát, *in which is the judgment of God?* ' (v. 47). ' And let the people of the Gospel judge according to that which is revealed therein, and whoso judgeth not according to that which *God hath revealed*, these are the wicked ones ' (v. 51). ' We also caused Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow the footsteps of the prophets, confirming the law (Taurát) which was sent before him, and We gave him the Injíl with its guidance and light, confirmatory of the preceding law ; a guidance and a warning to those that fear God ' (v. 50). ' We believe in God, and that which hath been sent down to us, and that which hath been sent down to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and that which hath been given to Moses and to Jesus, and that which was given to the prophets from their Lord. No difference do we make between any of them : and to God are we resigned ' (ii. 130). ' In truth hath He sent down to thee the Book, which confirmeth those that precede it, for He had sent down the Law and the Injíl aforetime as man's guidance; and now hath He sent down the Furqán ' (iii. 2). ' Verily we have sent down the Law (Taurát) wherein are guidance and light ' (v. 48).¹

Practically, Musalmáns reject the Old and New Testaments, and, as some reason for this neglect of previous Scriptures must be given, some Muslim divines say that the Jewish and Christian Scriptures have been corrupted. The technical expression is

¹ It is said that this refers to Jews and Christians only, and that for Muslims all other religions are abrogated by the verse ' Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám, that religion shall not be accepted from him ' (iii. 79).

tahríf, a word signifying to change, to turn aside anything from the truth. Then tahríf may be of two kinds: tahrífú'l-ma'nawí a change in the meaning of words; tahrífú'l-lafzí, an actual change of the written words. Most Musalmáns maintain that the latter kind of corruption has taken place, and so they do not feel bound to read or study the previous revelations so frequently referred to in the Qur'án.

The charge brought against the Jews of corrupting their Scriptures is based on the following verse of the Qur'án: 'Some truly are there among you who torture the Scriptures with their tongues, in order that ye may suppose it to be from the Scripture, yet it is not from the Scripture. And they say, "This is from God," yet it is not from God; and they utter a lie against God, and they know they do so' (iii. 72). All the ancient commentators assert that this only proved tahrífú'l-ma'nawí;¹ that is, that the Jews referred to misinterpreted what they read, or, whilst professing to read from the Scripture, used expressions not found therein. It does not mean that they altered the text of their Scriptures.² Thus, in Súratu'l-Baqara (iii) 38, God is

¹ Thus Baiḍáwí on Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán (iii) 72 says that the words 'and some truly are there among you who torture the Scriptures with tongues' mean 'turn them in reading them and so divert them from the revealed word to the fabricated.' Ar-Rázi on this verse says that they 'perverted the words with their tongues.'

² 'Muḥammad rarely accused the Jews and Christians of corrupting, but often of misinterpreting their sacred books, in order to evade his claims. His charges, however, are vaguely worded and his utterances on this subject are tantamount to a strong testimony in favour of the unimpeachable integrity of the sacred books, both of the Jews and Christians so far as he knew them' (Rodwell's Qur'án, p. 434). See also Súras iii. 72; v. 16, 18, in which the charge is not that of altering the written text of the Scriptures, but of hiding the truth.

described as saying: 'Believe in what I have sent down confirming your scriptures.' Now, it is inconceivable that the Qur'án would confirm corrupted scriptures. The charge is not made against Christians who also possessed the Old Testament. There was no dispute about the New Testament in the controversy referred to. Muslims have no excuse for their neglect of the previous Scriptures, and so the orthodox divines of modern times maintain that the greater corruption, the *tahrífu'l-lafzí*, has taken place. Yet the Qur'án is said to be 'confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their *safeguard*'¹ (v. 52). The question is fully discussed, and the opinion of the earlier commentators endorsed by Sir Syed Aḥmad in his *Commentary on the Bible*.²

4. PROPHETS.³ Muḥammad al-Barkaví says:—

It is necessary to confess that God had sent prophets; that Adam is the first of the prophets and Muḥammad the last; that between Adam and Muḥammad there were a great number of prophets; that Muḥammad is the most excellent of all; that each of the preceding prophets was sent to a special people, some with books, some without, but that Muḥammad was sent to all men and also to the genii; that his law will remain until the end of the world; that one night he was transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from thence

¹ 'It preserves them from change and witnesses to their correctness.' Baiḍáwí, i. 310.

² He also says: 'I do not agree with the statement that the Jews and Christians in the sacred books made *tahrífu'l-lafzí*, *Taṣánif-i-Aḥmadiyya* (ed. Agra, 1903), Part I, iv. 4.

Maulaví Walí Ulláh Muḥaddith says that Ibn 'Abbás is also clear that 'there has been no *tahrífu'l-ma'nawí* in the text of the Taurát, but only *tahrífu'l-lafzí* in translations of it.' Maulaví Imádu'd-Dín, *Ta'lim Muḥammadi* (Lahore ed.), p. 19.

³ The necessary qualifications of a prophet are faithfulness, sinlessness, truthfulness, intelligence.

to heaven, where he saw both Paradise and Hell, conversed with the Most High, and returned to Mecca before morning. After him no other prophet will come, for he is 'the seal of the prophets' (xxxiii. 40).

Tradition records that there have been about two hundred thousand prophets. Twenty-five are mentioned by name in the Qur'an, of whom six are distinguished by special titles. Adam, Ṣafíyu'lláh, the chosen of God; Noah, Nabíyu'lláh, the prophet of God; Abrahám, Khalílu'lláh, the friend of God; Moses, Kalímu'lláh, the one with whom God speaks; Jesus, Rúhu'lláh, the spirit of God; Muḥammad, Rasúlu'lláh the messenger of God. These are called the Anbiyá' ulú'l-'Azm, or 'possessors of purpose', because they were the heads of their respective dispensations, and because they will be permitted by God to intercede in the day of judgment for their followers. They are the greatest and most exalted of the prophets.

In Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 40 Jesus is called, 'Illustrious in this world and in the next.' Baiḍáwí and Zamakhsharí say that this refers to His prophetship in this world and to his work of intercession in the next. In the Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 254, we read, 'We gave unto Jesus, the Son of Mary, manifest signs and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit' and in the same Súra, verse 81, it is said, 'and (We) gave evident miracles unto Jesus the Son of Mary and strengthened him by the Holy Spirit.' The *Tafsír-i-Husainí* interprets the words 'Holy Spirit' to be '(1) pure soul, (2) Gabriel who was always near Jesus, (3) Ismú'l-A'azm, the great

name, by the blessing of which the dead come to life, (4) Injíl, or Gospel, in which is found the freshness and hope of heart and soul.' Most commentators, however, consider the 'Holy Spirit' to be Gabriel. Baiḍāwí says the miracles are those of raising the dead to life and of healing, knowledge of future things and the Injíl. As regards the Qur'ānic testimony to the divinity of Christ, Jesus is said to be the Word proceeding from God. 'Remember when the angel said, "O Mary! Verily God announceth to thee the Word from Him"' (iii. 40).

In Súratu'l-Anbíyá' (xxi) 91 the immaculate conception is thus taught: 'And her who kept her maidenhood, and unto whom We breathed of Our spirit and made her and her son a sign to all creatures.' In the Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169 Jesus is spoken of as 'His Word which He conveyed into Mary and a spirit proceeding from Himself.' In the *Tafsír-i-Ḥusainí* 'His Word' is said to refer to the birth of Christ without any touching (coition), or 'be-misás.' The *Khaláṣatu't-Tafásír* says the words mean, '(1) that Christ was created by means of the word kun, (Be), or (2) the word which came to Mary by Gabriel.' These and similar passages seem clearly to admit the divinity of Christ; but it is certain that Muḥammad did not accept this doctrine, for the last verse quoted is followed by a strict injunction not to say there are three gods. Muḥammad ignorantly supposed the Holy Trinity to consist of God, Jesus and Mary. The Qur'án also inveighs against the idea of a divine sonship in Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 30: Súratu Maryam (xix. 36):

Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 59. There is much inconsistency in the teaching of the Qur'án on this subject.¹ The explanation of it is probably that Muḥammad used the expressions about the person of Christ current among the Christians, either to commend his teaching to them, or simply because he himself did not understand their full import. In the Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 169, Jesus is called 'Apostle of God and His Word—Kalimatuḥu (كَلِمَةُ)' i.e. *the word*, not Kalimatu (كَلِمَة), *a word*. Thus the Qur'án recognizes Jesus as the *one* expression of God's will. The crucifixion of Christ is denied in Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 156. Muḥammad borrowed this idea from the Manichæans.²

'There are degrees of rank amongst the prophets, for 'Some of the Apostles have we endowed more highly than others.'³ Those to whom God hath spoken,⁴ He hath raised to the loftiest grade, and to Jesus, the Son of Mary, We gave manifest signs,

¹ 'The eternal sonship is rejected with the death on the cross, the resurrection and the rule at God's right hand. In fact, the Islámic doctrine leaves us questioning why this semi-angelic being came to earth at all. Some positive element must have been dropped by Muḥammad from the system which was taught by him. Jesus in it was evidently a second Adam, but his theological relation to the first Adam has vanished. He must have been sent for a purpose; that too has vanished.' Professor Macdonald in *The International Review of Missions*, October 1913, pp. 665-6.

² See on this point Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, p. 162.

³ It is said that prophets in their previous existence (as spirits) declared their submission to Muḥammad and were in this world merely his representatives. This, however, is contrary to the verses, 'We make no difference between them' (iii. 78); 'We make no distinction between any of His apostles' (ii. 285).

⁴ Moses at Sinai and Muḥammad in the night of the Mi'ráj. (Baidáwí, i. 130). Some say God spoke to the Anbiyá' ulú'l-'Azm also.

and We strengthened him with the Holy Spirit ' (ii. 254). It is said that the ' first appearance of prophethood was in Adam, and its perfection in the "Seal of the prophets." ' ¹

Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, in the *Mathnawí*, says :—

The name of Ahmad includes the names of prophets all,
Just as one hundred, when received, includes ninety all.

Traditions, as usual, support this position. ' I am the chief of the sons of men.' ' Adam and all beside him will be ranged under my flag in the judgment-day.' ' There will be no prophet after me.' It is said that the law given by Moses was harsh and severe ; that by Christ, was mild and gracious ; but that the law given by Muḥammad is perfect, for it combines both the quality of strictness and that of graciousness ; according to the Tradition : ' I always laugh and by laughing kill.' Each prophet is said to have been sent to his own tribe, but Muḥammad was sent for all men. A Tradition states : ' I was raised up for all men whether white or black, other prophets were not, except for their own tribe.'

Many Sunnís hold that prophets are superior to angels, and sometimes quote the verse, ' Verily, God chose Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham and the family of 'Imrán out of the worlds ' (iii. 30) as a proof of it.² The Mu'tazilís

¹ : Our Prophet is the seal of the apostles, and his law will not be abrogated till time is fulfilled. And Isá (Jesus), after his descent, will judge according to the law of our Prophet. It is said that he will take it from the Qur'án and the Sunna.' Al-Fudálí, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 345.

² Baiqáwí, i. 152.

say that the angels are superior to the prophets. Al-Jubbá'í, a Mu'tazilí, quotes the verse, 'Neither do I say unto you, "Verily I am an angel"' (vi. 50) to prove that prophets are inferior. Qádí 'Abdu'l-Jubbár in his commentary denies this, and says that al-Jubbá'í interprets the words as if Muḥammad meant that he had not the *glory and dignity* of an angel, whereas all that he meant to declare was that he had not the *rank* of an angel, because, as a matter of fact, his glory was greater.¹ The Shí'ahs assert that the twelve Imáms are superior to prophets. There is also a Tradition which says, 'The 'Ulamá of my faith are as the prophets of the children of Israel.'

Ibn Khaldún (i. 196-205) gives a very interesting account of prophetic inspiration. He speaks somewhat as follows. If we contemplate the world and the creatures it contains, we shall recognize a perfect order, a regular system, a sequence of cause and effect. Then the phenomena of the visible world indicate to us the existence of an agent whose nature is different from that of the body, who is, in fact, a spiritual existence. 'This agent, which is the soul, must, on the one hand, be in contact with the existences of this world, and, on the other, with the existences of the next category of superiority, and one whose essential qualities are pure perception and clear intelligence. Such are the angels. It follows, then, that the human soul has a tendency

¹ 'The apostles of mankind are more excellent than the apostles of the angels; and the apostles of the angels are more excellent than the generality of mankind; and the generality of mankind of the true believers is more excellent than the generality of the angels.' An-Nasáfi, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 315.

towards the angelic world. All this is quite in accordance with the idea that, according to a regular order, all the categories of existences in the universe are in mutual contact by means of their faculties and on account of their nature.

The souls of men may be divided into three classes. First, a soul that is too feeble by nature to attain to a perception of the spiritual : it has to content itself with moving in the region of sense and imagination. Thus it can understand concepts and affirmations. It can raise itself high in its own category, but cannot pass its limit.

Second, souls carried by a reflective movement and a natural disposition towards spiritual intelligence. They enter into a state of contemplation which results in ecstasy. This is the intuition of all the saints (Auliya')¹ to whom God has given this divine knowledge.

Third, souls created with the power of disengaging themselves altogether from their human bodies in order that they may rise to the angelic state. In a moment of time such a soul perceives the sublime company (of angels) in the sphere which contains them. It there and then hears the speech of the soul and the divine voice. Such are the souls of the prophets. God has given to these souls the power of leaving the human body. Whilst thus separate from it, God gives to them His revelation. The prophets are endowed by God with such a

¹ That the Auliya' are distinguished above ordinary mortals is maintained on the authority of : ' Are not the friends (auliya') of God those on whom no fear shall come, nor shall they be put to grief ' (x. 63).

purity of disposition, such an instinct of uprightness, that they are naturally inclined to the spiritual world. They are animated by an ardour quite peculiar to their order. When they return from the angelic state they deliver to men the revelations they have received. The journey to, and the journey from the angelic state, and the comprehension of the revelation received there, occupy less time than the twinkling of an eye. This is why inspiration is called *wahí*, a word which, according to Ibn *Khaldún*, means to make haste.

A Nabí (who must be a wise and a free man, and free from imperfection either of body or mind) receives *wahí*, but has not necessarily to deliver to men the orders of God. A Rasúl, who must possess the same qualifications as a Nabí, is one who is commanded to deliver God's message to men, though he does not necessarily abrogate what preceding Rasúls have delivered. Some Rasúls do so, but the distinguishing mark of the Rasúl is that he delivers to men commands direct from God, and is specially commissioned so to do. Thus every Rasúl is a Nabí, whilst every Nabí is not a Rasúl.¹

The orthodox belief is that prophets are free from sin.² The Ash'aríans believe that the power of sinning is not created in them. The Mu'tazilís deny this, but admit the existence of some quality

¹ There is some dispute as to whether a woman can attain to the rank of prophets. The Ash'aríans say she can, and mention as possible prophetesses the Virgin Mary, the wife of Pharaoh, Sarah, Hagar, and some add the names of Eve and of the mother of Moses.

² Some of the subsections of the Shi'ahs, in order to exalt the Imáms, hold that prophets can sin. The Hashámíyah, for example, say: 'The prophets sin, but the Imáms are pure.' Shahrastáni, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 142.

which keeps them from evil. These theories do not agree with actual facts. Prophets, like other men, also commit faults, but here comes in the Muslim distinction of sins into the 'great sins' (*kabíra*), and the 'little sins' (*ṣaghíra*).¹ The 'great sins' are murder, adultery, disobedience to God and also to parents, avoiding fighting against infidels, drunkenness, usury, neglecting the Friday prayers and the Ramaḍán fast, forgetting the Qur'án after reading it, swearing falsely or by any other than God, magic, gambling, calling on the names of deceased persons and beating the breast at such times,² dancing, disrespect to a Ḥafíẓ, shaving the beard, and omitting to say the *darúd* (i.e. on whom and on whose family be the peace and mercy of God) whenever the name of Muḥammad is mentioned. These are all 'great sins,' and can only be forgiven after due repentance ; the 'little sins' are forgiven if some good actions are done. 'Observe prayer at early morning, at the close of day, and at the approach of night ; for the *good deeds drive away the evil deeds*' (xi. 116). It is the universal belief that prophets never commit the greater sins, but there is a difference of opinion with regard to the lesser sins. Some limit even this frailty to the period before *wahí* comes upon them. The general opinion, however, is that the frailties which they show are merely faults and slight imperfections not amounting to sin.³

¹ 'To those who avoid great crimes and scandals, but commit only lighter faults, verily thy Lord will be diffuse of mercy' (liii. 33).

² This is an orthodox blow at the Shí'ah practices in the month of Muḥarram. Shí'ahs consider this a good act.

³ Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 73.

This, to the Muslim mind, at once disposes of a difficulty the Qur'an itself raises on this point. With the exception of Jesus Christ, the *Anbiya' ulú'l-'Azm* are spoken of as doing what every one, except an orthodox Muslim, would call sin. Adam's transgression¹ is referred to in *Súra ii.* 29-37, and in *Súra vii.* 10-24. 'They said, "O our Lord! with ourselves have we dealt unjustly; if Thou forgive us not and have not pity on us, we shall surely be of those that perish." (vii. 22). The sin of Noah is plainly hinted at in "Unless Thou forgive me and be merciful to me, I shall be one of the lost" (xi. 49). There is a similar request in *Súra lxxi.* 29. Abraham also is represented as saying, "When I am sick, He healeth me, and who will cause me to die and again quicken me, and who, I hope, will forgive me my sins in the day of reckoning" (xxvi. 80-2). Moses is described as having done "a work of Satan" in killing a man, and as saying, "O my Lord, I have sinned to my own hurt; forgive me." So God forgave him; for He is the forgiving, the merciful. He said: "Lord, because Thou hast showed me this grace, I will never again be the helper of the wicked" (xxviii. 15, 16).

The following passages refer to Muḥammad.
'Be thou steadfast and patient; for true is the

¹ It is said Adam's sin was a mere slip, but it brought good to the world. Had he remained in Paradise the world would not have been peopled; and the word of God, 'I have not created men and jinns except for worship,' would not have been fulfilled. It is also said that the sin of Adam was not like the sins of other men, and that that which was forbidden to him outwardly was commended to him inwardly (منهى ظاهراً مأمور باطناً) and that there was a secret understanding between him and God which we do not know.

promise of God; and seek pardon for thy sin' (xl. 57). Baiḍáwí says that this refers to his remissness in propagating Islám. According to the *Tafsír-i-ibn 'Abbás*, it is 'the deficiency in giving thanks for the blessings God bestowed on thee and thy Companions'; according to the *Tafsír-i-Husainí*, it is 'that the Prophet as an act of worship sought pardon, and so rose to a high rank, or that he did it to set an example, according to the Tradition, "I seek pardon seventy times daily;"¹ or it means simply, "Seek pardon for the sins of thy people." ' In reply to all these ingenious attempts to get rid of a very troublesome fact, it may be noted that the word used for the Prophet's sin (dhanb) is also used in describing the sin of ordinary people. Thus, 'Others have owned their sins (dhanb)' (ix. 103). 'But the wicked shall not be asked of their sins (dhúnúb)' (xxviii. 78). In the *Tafsír-i-Husainí* the comment on this verse is that the wicked (gunáh-garán) here are idolaters; their sins (dhúnúb) therefore include idolatry which cannot be looked upon as a mere fault. The crime of Potiphar's wife is called dhanb (xii. 29). The unbelievers when thrown into hell, a hell boiling and thirsting for fury, shall say: 'Had we but hearkened or understood, we had not been among the dwellers in the flames; and their sin (dhanb)² shall they acknow-

¹ Another Tradition quoted by Ghazáli is 'I ask the Almighty for pardon and repent unto Him seventy times daily.' For the original, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 73

² Baiḍáwí gives kufr (infidelity) as the meaning of dhanb here. He says it is unbelief shown in not hearkening to the Prophet's message. This seems reasonable, but it shows that dhanb has a wider meaning than that of a mere fault, which is declared to be its meaning when used of an act of the Prophet.

ledge' (lxvii. 10-11). See also Súras lv. 39; xli. 14; xci. 14 for the same use of this word. All these passages show the futility of the attempt made to restrict the meaning of *dhanb* in order to maintain the dogma of the sinlessness of Muḥammad.

'Ask pardon for thy sin, and for believers, both men and women' (xlvi. 21). Mu'alim says that the Prophet was told to ask pardon for his sins, not because he had any sin, or really personally needed any pardon, but because, if he so asked, it would become a Sunna practice for the people. Thus each one can now say, 'Pardon my sin.' In the book known as *Tibyán* it is said that 'seek pardon for thy sin' means 'ask for purity, which will keep away sin.'¹ Ibn 'Abbás quotes the verse, 'Have We not opened thine heart for thee and taken off from thee thy burden?' (xciv. 1-2), and says 'thy burden' means 'thy sin.' A more common interpretation is to refer this to anxiety or to trouble of mind. The scandal caused by the Prophet's conduct with the wife of Zaid and with the Egyptian slave Mary necessitated a pretended revelation of God's will in reference to these events.² The circumstances will be found fully detailed in Súra xxxiii. 36-49, and in Súra lxvi. 1-5.

One of the most important verses is: 'Verily, We have won for thee an undoubted victory, in token that God forgiveth thy earlier and later fault' (xlvi. 1-2). It is not quite clear what victory is here referred to.³ Ḥusain and Baiḍawí say that it

¹ These quotations are taken from the *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, ii. 348.

² See Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 152-5; 200-2.

³ *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, ii. 331; Baiḍawí, ii. 266.

is the taking of Mecca, the past tense being prophetically used for the future. The following explanations are given of the expression 'earlier and later fault.' (1) God has forgiven thy sin committed before and after the descent of waḥí, (2) before and after the taking of Mecca, or (3) before the descent of this Súra. (4) Salmí says: 'The earlier sin refers to the sin of Adam committed when Muḥammad was in the loins of his great ancestor and thus connected with him; the later sin refers to the followers of the Prophet, and in that way is connected with him, just as the sin of Adam was the predecessor and cause of their sin.' (5) Imám Abú'l-Lais says: 'The words refer to the sin of Adam, and to those of the followers of the Prophet. Both are connected with Muḥammad, because the former is forgiven by the blessing, and the latter by the intercession of Muḥammad.'

Muslim and Bukhārí say that one day the Prophet said to his followers: 'Not one of you shall enter Paradise except through the mercy of God,' and was asked: 'Not even thou, O apostle of God?' He said: 'Not even I.' Abú Huraira says that he heard Muḥammad say: 'Verily, I ask God for pardon.' It is said that Muḥammad felt such remorse for slight faults that he gave the serious name of sin to them. The reply to this plea is obvious, for, from a Muslim standpoint, the Qur'án is God's word and so it is God and not Muḥammad who speaks of Muḥammad's sin.

From the extracts from the Qur'án it appears that sin is imputed to the prophets, though Muslims evade the charge by the casuistry described. Still

it is a striking fact that the one sinless member of the Anbiyá'-Ulú'l-'Azm, the one sinless prophet of Islám, is none other than the Lord Jesus Christ.¹ There is no passage in the Qur'an which hints at sin, even in the modified form in which Muslims attribute it to other prophets, being committed by him: 'no passage which speaks of his seeking for pardon.

In the Traditions (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī* iii. 194), there is the same absence of any imputation of evil to Christ. Thus Muḥammad is reported to have said: 'The people will be gathered together at the day of judgment and will say, "If some one would only intercede for us with our Lord." They will go to Adam and say, "Thou art the father of men. God created thee with His own hand. Angels made sijda to thee and taught thee the names of everything. Intercede for us with thy Lord, so that we may be happy in one place." Adam replied, "I am not fit for this work for you," and he remembered his sin (*dhanb*) and was ashamed. Then they went to Noah. Certainly he was the first prophet raised up by God for the ruler of the world. He replied, "I am not fit for this work for you," and remembered his questioning of God on that which was not for him to know. He will be ashamed and will say, "Go to the friend of God." They will then go to Abraham, who will say, "I am not fit for this;

¹ A Tradition recorded by Muslim [Part v. 126 and quoted in Pfander's *Path of Life* (C.L.S.) p. 221] on the authority of 'Āyisha relates that Muḥammad said: 'Every child who is born of Adam's seed at his birth is pricked by Satan, except Jesus and his mother.' Bukhārī records a Tradition to the effect that 'every child at birth, except Maryam and her son, is touched by Satan.' *Faiḍu'l-Bārī*, Part xvii. 163.

go to Moses, to whom God spake and gave the Taurát.” They will go to him, and he will say, “ I am not fit for it,” and will remember his killing a man, and will be ashamed, and will say, “ Go to Jesus, the servant of God and the messenger, the Word of God and His spirit ; ” but Jesus will say, “ I am not fit for this ; go to Muḥammad, the servant to whom God hath forgiven the former and the latter sin (dhanb).” ’ In sharp contrast to the case of Muḥammad and the other prophets, all reference to sin is omitted in the case of Jesus.¹

It is the universal belief that prophets work miracles.² A miracle is defined to be ‘ *kharqu’l-‘adat*, ’ or something contrary to the usual course of nature. The object for which a miracle is performed must be a moral one, and chiefly to attest the truth of the statements made by the prophet.³ Muḥammad makes, in the Qur’án, no distinct claim to the power of working miracles ; on the contrary, he seems to disclaim such a power. The Quraish said : ‘ By no means will we believe on thee till thou cause a fountain to gush forth for us from the earth ; or till thou have a garden of palm-trees and grapes, and thou cause forth-gushing rivers to gush forth in

¹ The Qur’án speaks of the immaculate and miraculous birth of Jesus Christ, ‘ When God had given them a perfect child ’ (vii. 190). ‘ Verily Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God. He created him of dust : He then said to him “ Be and he was ” (iii. 52). Thus, according to the Qur’án, neither Jesus nor Adam had a human father.

² Muslim theologians name seven characteristics of a true miracle. These definitions are given in Arabic and in English by Klein, *Religion of Islām*, p. 75.

³ Sir Syed Aḥmad says : ‘ Miracles are not a proof of prophetship which must be established on other grounds. *Taḥḍīf-i-Aḥmadiyya*, Part I, iv. 136.

its midst ; or thou make the heaven to fall on us as thou hast given out, in pieces ; or thou bring God and the angels to vouch for thee, etc. Say, " Am I more than a man, an Apostle ? " ' (xvii. 92-5). ' The unbelievers say, " Why hath not a sign been given him by his Lord ? " Nay, but thou art only a warner, and unto every people hath been given a guide " (xiii. 8).¹ Baiḍāwī says : ' When the people demanded miracles such as those wrought by Moses and Jesus, Muḥammad is told that he is only a warner. The demand was withheld because it was made perversely and not with sincerity.' ' Nothing hindered Us from sending thee with the power of working miracles, except that the people of old treated them as lies ' (xvii. 60). The reason here given is that such power was useless in the case of former prophets, a statement which scarcely accords with facts. Other passages on this point are Sūras vi. 37 ; vii. 204 ; xvii. 58 and xix. 48. Former prophets, Muḥammad used to say, were sent to their own sect ; but he was sent for all. Their miracles were confined to their own times. The Qur'án, the great miracle of Islám, was for all ages. He needed no other sign than this. But his followers maintain that in this, as in all other respects, he was equal to all and superior to some prophets, and produce various passages of the Qur'án in support of their

1 These words occur in Sūratu'r-R'ad, the last Sūra delivered at Mecca. To the Quraish who pressed him to give a miraculous sign, the message came, ' Whom God causeth to err, no guide shall there be for him. Chastisement awaiteth them in this present life and more grievous shall be the chastisement of the next ' (xiii. 34). Thus with words of warning and threatening of eternal fire and everlasting punishment on those who rejected his claims, the Prophet left the city in which for thirteen long years he had preached and pleaded in vain.

view. If to Adam was given the power of naming everything, Muḥammad also possessed the same power. Enoch was exalted on high, but Muḥammad was taken to the 'Qába Qausain,' the 'two bows length,' where Gabriel, 'one mighty in power,' appeared to him (liii. 5-9). Ismá'il was ready to be sacrificed, but Muḥammad endured the splitting of his breast ;¹ Joseph was to some extent handsome, but Muḥammad was the very perfection of beauty ; Moses brought water from the rock, but Muḥammad produced it from his fingers. The sun was stayed in its course by Joshua, and so it was by Muḥammad. Solomon had a great kingdom, Muḥammad a greater, for he possessed the keys of the treasuries of the earth. Wisdom was given to John the Baptist whilst yet a child, so also were wisdom and understanding granted to Muḥammad at an early period of his life. Jesus could raise the dead,² so also could Muḥammad. In addition to all these, the special miracles of the Prophet are the splitting of the moon asunder (the truth of which Niẓám, a Mu'tazilí, denied), the mi'ráj, the coming of a tree into his presence, and above all the wonderful miracle of the Qur'án itself. The splitting of the moon asunder is referred to in 'The hour of judgment approacheth, and the moon hath been split in sunder '

¹ 'Have We not opened thine heart for thee?' (xciv. 1). Tradition relates that when young, two angels cut open his breast and took out a black drop. Many other marvels are also connected with this event. See Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*. pp. 8-9.

² The miracles said to have been performed by Jesus in his childhood (xix. 31-2 ; iii. 43) are called mu'jizát, the name given to miracles performed by a true prophet, for, even when a babe, he said : 'He hath made me a prophet' (xix. 31).

(liv. i). The following accounts occur in books dealing with the subject of the miracles of Muḥammad. 'The moon was split into two parts, one above the mountain, one under; and the Prophet said, "Bear witness."' 'Abdu'lláh says: 'We were with the Prophet; the moon became two parts, and the Prophet said to us, "Bear witness."' Imám Záhíd says that Abú Jahl and a Jew visited the Prophet, and demanded a sign from him on pain of death. The Prophet made a sign with his little finger, and at once the moon separated into two parts, one of which remained in the sky, the other went off to a long distance. The Jew believed in Islám forthwith. 'Some infidels asked the Prophet of God for a sign, then he split the moon.'¹ Some authorities, however, refer the passage to the future, as they consider the splitting of the moon to be one of the signs of the last day. Other commentators on the verse, 'When they (Meccans) see a sign, they fall to mocking' (xxxvii. 14), say the 'sign' referred to is 'the splitting of the moon or some such marvel.'

The mi'rāj, or night ascent, is mentioned in 'Glory be to Him who carried His servant by night from the sacred temple (of Mecca) to the temple that is more remote, whose precinct We have blessed, that We might show him of Our signs' (xvii. 1). Muslim writers, who are fond of the marvellous, narrate at length the wonderful things the Prophet saw and did on this eventful night; but some maintain that it was only a vision, and quote the words,

¹ Baiḳáwí, ii. 296.

'We ordained the vision which We showed thee,' (xvii. 62) in proof of this assertion. Baiḍáwí supports this view¹ but also gives other explanations. The general consensus of opinion is on the side of a bodily migration. Be that as it may, all orthodox Muslims maintain the superiority of Muḥammad as a worker of miracles over all other prophets.²

5. THE RESURRECTION AND THE LAST DAY.—These two articles of the faith may be considered together. The following is a summary of the remarks of al-Barkavī on this point. It is necessary to acknowledge :—

1. That the torments of the tomb are real and certain, and that Munkar and Nakír will interrogate the dead person concerning his God, his Prophet, his faith and his Qibla. The faithful will reply; 'Our God is God; our Prophet is Muḥammad; our religion, Islám; our Qibla, the Ka'ba.

2. That all the signs of the last day mentioned by the Prophet will come to pass: such as the appearance of Dajjál, or Antichrist; the descent of Jesus from heaven; the appearance of Imám Mahdí and of God and Magog; and the rising of the sun from the west.

3. That all living things will die; that the mountains will fly in the air like birds; that the heavens will melt away; that after some time has thus passed, God Most High will raise the dead; that prophets, saints, doctors

¹ 'All that Muḥammadans must believe respecting the mi'rāj is that the Prophet saw himself, in a vision, transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, and that in such a vision he really beheld some of the greatest signs of his Lord' (*Essays* by Sved Aḥmad, Essay vi. 34). This, though a legitimate, is not, however, an orthodox opinion, which is, that he who denies an actual bodily migration from Mecca to Jerusalem is a káfir (infidel), as he denies the statement of a 'naṣṣ', or plain text of the Qur'án. He who denies the ascension to heaven and the wonderful account of the night's proceedings preserved in the Traditions is a fásiq (sinner), though he remains a Muslim.

² The miracle worked by a prophet is called mu'jiza; by a saint, karámat; by an evil spirit or an opposer of God, istidrāj.

of the law, and the faithful will find near them the robes and the horses of Paradise. They will put on the robes, and mount the horses, and go into the shade of the throne of God. Other men, hungry, thirsty and naked, will go on foot. The faithful will go to the right, the infidels to the left.

4. That there will be a balance, in which the good and bad actions of men will be weighed. Those whose good deeds outweigh the bad will go to Paradise; if the bad predominate, they will go into the fire, unless God has mercy on them, or the prophets or saints intercede for them. If, however they were not Muslims, there will be no intercession for them, nor will they come out from the fire. The Muslims who enter the fire will, after having purged their crimes, enter Paradise.

5. That the bridge *Şirât*, which is sharper than a sword, is raised above the fire; that all men must pass over this. Some will pass over with the speed of lightning, some will go very slowly over; others will fall and certainly enter into the fire.

6. That each prophet has a pool where he, with his people, will quench their thirst before entering Paradise; that the pool of *Muḥammad* is the largest of all. Its water is sweeter than honey, whiter than milk.

7. That Paradise and Hell actually exist; that the chosen remain for ever in the former; they neither die nor grow aged. The *Hūrīs* and the females are exempted from the infirmities of their sex. They will no longer bear children. The elect will find there the meat and the drink they require, without taking upon themselves any trouble. The ground of Paradise is of musk; the bricks of its edifices are of gold and of silver.

The unbelievers and the demons will remain for ever in hell, tormented by serpents as thick as the neck of a camel, by scorpions as large as mules, by fire and by scalding water. Their bodies will burn till they become reduced to a coal, when God will revive them so that they may endure fresh torments. This will last for ever.

The following additional remarks are based on the *Sharḥ-i-Á'qá'id-i-Jámí* (ed. A.H. 1271, pp. 179-'93). They fall under four heads :—

(1) The sounding of the trumpets. The Prophet said : ' The last hour will not be till no one is found who calls on God.' Then, ' There shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the heavens and all who are in the earth shall expire, save those whom God shall vouchsafe to live. There shall be another blast on it, and lo ! arising they shall gaze around them (xxxix. 68). Abú Huraira relates that the Prophet, speaking of the trumpet, said : ' After the creation of the heavens and the earth, God created the trumpet and gave it to Isráfil, who, with his mouth placed to it, is ever looking up and waiting for the order to blow it. He will blow three times.' The first time, the blast of consternation, to terrify ; the second, the blast of examination, to slay ; the third, the blast of resurrection, to quicken the dead.' Most persons believe that everything, save God and His attributes, will perish.

The resurrection of the body is thus proved : ' They say, " Who will bring us back ? " Say : " He who created you at first " ' (xvii. 53). ' " Who shall give life to bones when they are rotten ? " ' Say : " He shall give life to them who gave them being at first, for in all creation is He skilled " '

¹ Some commentators make no distinction between the first and second blast, as only two are distinctly mentioned in the Qur'án

The place of assembly will be on earth, some say at Jerusalem, others a barren plain which affords no hiding place, but nothing definite is known beyond the words of the Qur'án : ' On the day when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens also, men shall come forth unto God, the Only, the Victorious ' (xiv. 49).

(xxxvi. 79). 'Man saith : "What ! after I am dead, shall I in the end be brought forth alive ?" Doth not man bear in mind that We made him at first, when he was nought ?' (xix. 68). 'The infidels will say : "Shall we indeed be restored as at first ? What ! when we have become rotten bones ?" "This then," say they, "will be a return to loss." Verily, it will be but a single blast, and lo ! they are on the surface of the earth' (lxxix, 10-14). 'Is He not powerful enough to quicken the dead ?' (lxxv. 40). 'This resurrection will be to judgment. 'Never,' say the unbelievers will the hour come upon us.' Say : 'Yea, by my Lord who knoweth the unseen, it will surely come upon you, . . . to the intent that God may reward those who have believed, . . . but, as for those who aim to invalidate Our signs, a chastisement of painful torment awaiteth them' (xxxiv. 3, 4). 'A terrible chastisement doth await them on the Day when faces shall turn white and faces shall turn black. What ! after your belief, have ye become infidels ? Taste, then, the chastisement for that ye have been unbelievers. And as to those whose faces shall have become white, they shall be within the mercy of God' (iii. 102).

The Prophet did not know the time when all this would take place. 'They will ask thee of the Hour, when will be its fixed time ? But what knowledge hast thou of it ? Its period is known only to thy Lord ; and thou art charged with the warning of those who fear it' (lxxix. 41-5). According to the Ijmá' of the Faithful, he who has any doubts on this article of the Faith is an infidel.

The Mu'tazilís show from reason that a resurrection of the body is necessary in order that rewards and punishment may be bestowed. The orthodox agree with the conclusion, but hesitate to base it on reason.

The learned are not agreed as to the state of the soul during the time when the body is dead, and therefore disagree with regard to its revival. Some assert that it is wrong to speak of a resurrection of the soul, for it exists in the body as fire in coal; hence its revival is included in the resurrection of the body : others maintain that, as it is a distinct entity, it is not annihilated with the body. The scholastics favour the first idea. Practically the result seems the same in both cases. The resurrection body had a soul. Wise and foolish, devils and beasts, insects and birds—all will arise at the last day. Muḥammad will come first in order, and be the first to enter Paradise.

(2) The descent of the Books. After the resurrection, men will wander about for forty years, during which time the books which contain the record kept by the recording angels, will be given up. Men will rise up naked and confused ; some will walk about, some stand for forty years, looking up towards the heavens (i.e. expecting the books). They will perspire profusely through excess of sorrow. Then God will say to Abraham, 'Put on clothes.' He will put on a robe of Paradise. The Prophet said : 'I will also put on a dress, and will stand near the throne, where no one else will be allowed to stand, and God will say : "Ask and it shall be granted to thee ; intercede, thy intercession

shall be accepted.”’ Each book flies from the treasury under the Throne of God, and is given to its proper owner.¹ ‘Every man’s fate have We fastened about his neck ; and on the day of resurrection, will We bring forth to him (every man) a book which shall be proffered to him wide open : “Read thy book ; there needeth none but thyself to make out an account against thee this day ”’ (xvii. 14). A portion of verse 78 of Súra xxviii—‘But the wicked shall not be asked of their crimes,’ seems to contradict this ; but commentators say that this verse simply means that God knows all,² or that their sinfulness will appear on their foreheads: ‘One day We will summon all men with their leaders (Imáms). They whose books shall be given into their right hands, shall read their book, and not be wronged a thread’ (xvii. 73). ‘He into whose right hand his book shall be given, shall be reckoned with an easy reckoning, and shall turn rejoicing to His kindred. But he whose book shall be given behind his back (i.e. into his left hand), shall invoke destruction’³ (lxxxiv. 8-11). ‘He who shall have his book given into his left hand will say : “O that my book had never been given me, and that I had not known my reckoning ”’ (lxix. 25). But the command goes forth, ‘Lay hold of him and chain him ; then at the hell-fire burn him

The books of the wicked are kept in Sijjín, a prison in Hell (lxxviii. 7-17) ; the registers of the righteous are kept in Illiyún, a lofty apartment in Paradise (lxxxiii. 18).

¹ ‘God knows all their sins and certainly will punish them.’ Baidáwí ii. 89.

³ The former are called Aṣḥábu'l-Yamín, men of the right ; the latter, Aṣḥábu'sh-Shimál, men of the left.

(lxix. 30). It is said that wicked Musalmáns will be seized by the right hand before they are cast into the fire, which is held to be a proof that they are not always to remain there. Some consider that the expression 'Read thy book' implies a literal reading; others, that it is a metaphorical expression, which simply means that all the past actions will be known. Those who believe in a literal reading say that each believer will read the account of his faults only, and that other persons will read that of his good deeds. The face of the believer as he reads will shine resplendently, but black will be the face of the infidel.

(3) The Balances. This belief is based on the authority of the Qur'án, the Sunna, and the Ijmá' : no Muslim, therefore, can have any doubt about it. Thus : 'They whose balances shall be heavy shall be the blest; but they whose balances shall be light, these are they who shall lose their souls, abiding in hell for ever' (xxiii. 104). 'They whose balances shall be heavy, these are they who shall be happy; and they whose balances shall be light, these are they who have lost their souls, for that to Our signs they were unjust' (vii. 7, 8). 'As to him whose balances are heavy, his shall be a life that shall please him well: and as to him whose balances are light, his dwelling-place shall be the pit. And who shall teach thee what the pit (al-Háwiya) is? A raging fire!' (ci. 5-8). Prophets and angels and according to some authorities, believers will be exempt from this trial. This test is not required for the unbelievers, for their state is very evident: 'By their tokens shall the sinners be known, and

they shall be seized by their forelocks and their feet' lv. 41. 'Vain, therefore, are their works, and no weight will we allow them on the day of resurrection' (xviii. 105).¹ Some, however, say that all that is here denied is the fact of 'a weighing in their favour.' The place where the weighing will take place is situated midway between heaven and hell. Gabriel, standing by, watches the movement of the scales, and Michael guards the balance. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the works themselves, or the books will then be weighed. 'Firmidhí says : 'The Prophet said : "Ninety-nine registers will be distributed. God will say: "What! dost thou deny this, or have the recording angels treated thee unjustly?" Each will say: "No, O Lord." "Hast thou then any excuse?" "No, O Lord." Then God will display a cloth on which the kalima is written. This will be put into one scale, and God will say : "To thee will be no evil if thou hast a register in one scale and this cloth in the other, for the first scale will be light." ' This is considered conclusive testimony with regard to the weighing of the books. The Mu'tazilís objected to statements such as these, for they said: 'Actions are accidents, and the qualities of lightness and heaviness cannot be attributed to accidents.' They explained the verses of the Qur'án, and the statements of the Traditions on this point, as being a figurative way of saying that perfect justice will be

¹ See also Súras, xxi. 48 ; xlii. 16. Muḥammad probably got this idea from an apocryphal work, *The Testament of Abraham*, published in *Text and Studies*, vol. ii, No. 2. Copious extracts from this are given in Tisdall's *Religion of the Crescent*, Appendix c, pp 241-9.

done to all in the day of judgment. To this the orthodox reply, that 'it is not known *how* God will do this (i.e. the weighing of the books, but this ignorance does not make God's actions vain.'¹

(4) The Bridge. The literal meaning of the word *Širāṭ*² is a road, a way. 'If We pleased, We would surely put out their eyes: yet even then would they speed on with rivalry in their path (*Širāṭ*.' (xxxvi. 66). 'Gather together those who have acted unjustly and their consorts (demons', and the gods whom

¹ Al-Ghazālī says that the good Muslim 'should believe in the Balance with the two scales and the tongue, the magnitude of which is like unto the stages of the heaven and the earth. In it, deeds are weighed by the power of God Most High; and its weights in that day will be of the weight of motes and mustard seeds, to show the exactitude of its justice. The leaves of the good deeds will be placed in a beautiful form in the scale of light; and then the balance will be weighed down by them according to the measure of their degree with God, by the grace of God. And the leaves of evil deeds will be cast in a vile form into the scale of darkness, and the balance will be light with them, through the justice of God' *Iḥyā' 'ulūmī'd-dīn*, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 306.

The idea is borrowed from Talmudic Judaism which, as expounded in the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (A. and C. Black 1896) has been thus summarized: 'Every good work—whether the fulfilling of a command or an act of mercy—established a certain degree of merit with God, while every evil work entailed a corresponding demerit, a man's position with God depended on the relation existing between his merits and demerits and his salvation, on the preponderance of the former over the latter. The relation between his merits and demerits was determined daily by the weighing of his deeds.' See also Gore, *Epistle to the Ephesians*, p. 237, Note C.

² Muḥammad was indebted to Zoroastrianism for this idea. The ancient Persians called this bridge or road over hell the Chinavat. The word *Širāṭ* does not come from an Arabic root (Tisdall, *Religion of the Crescent*, p. 173). In 2 Esdras vii. 7, 8, the entrance to the city is described as 'narrow and set in a dangerous place to fall, like as if there were a fire on the right hand and one on the left. A deep water and one only path between them both . . . that there could but one man only go there at once.'

they have adored beside God, and guide them to the road (Sirāṭ, for hell' (xxxvii. 23). It is not called a bridge in the Qur'án, but Tradition so calls it. The Prophet said : ' There will be a bridge sharper than the edge of a sword, finer than a hair, suspended over hell. Some will pass over it in the twinkling of an eye, some like a flash of lightning, others with the speed of a swift horse. 'The angels will call out, "O Lord ! save and protect." Some Muslims will be saved, some will fall headlong into hell, and afterwards be released.' The infidels will all fall into hell and there remain for ever. Al-Ghazalí says : ' it is a bridge stretched over the back of Hell, sharper than a sword, finer than a hair. The feet of the unbelievers slip upon it, by the decree of God and fall with them into the fire ; but the feet of believers stand firm upon it, by the grace of God, and so they pass into the Abiding Abode.'¹ The Mu'tazilis deny the existence of such a bridge. ' If we admit it,' they say, ' it would be a trouble for the believers, and such there is not for them in the day of judgment.' To this, the orthodox reply that the believers pass over it to show how they are saved from fire, and that thus they may be delighted with Paradise, and also to annoy the infidels.²

¹ *Iḥyá' 'ulūmu'd-dīn*, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 306.

² Some theologians say that the words, ' No one is there of you who shall not go down unto it . . . then will We deliver those who had the fear of God.' (xxi. 72, 73) refer to the passing over Sirāṭ in safety, but the general opinion is that believers will enter hell and that that these verses refer to their so doing. But in any case they will go through very rapidly and the heat will be lessened whilst they are

Al-A'raf is situated between heaven and hell. It is described thus : ' On (the wall) al-A'raf shall be men who know all by their tokens,¹ and they shall cry to the inhabitants of Paradise, " Peace be on you ! " but they shall not yet enter it, although they long to do so. And when their eyes are turned towards the inmates of the fire, they shall say, " O our Lord ! place us not with offending people " ' (vii. 44-5). Sale thus sums up the opinions regarding al-A'raf :—

' They call it Al-Orf, and more frequently in the plural Al-A'raf, a word derived from the verb A'rafa, which signifies to distinguish between things, or to part them ; though some commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name, because, say they, those who stand on this partition will know and distinguish the blessed from the damned by their respective marks or characteristics : and others say the word properly intends anything that is high, raised or elevated, as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be. Some imagine it to be a sort of limbo for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity.² Others place here such whose good

passing. An anecdote related by Jalálu'd-Dín Rûmi throws some light on the meaning of the verses. ' A monk once said to Jalálu'd-Dín, " As all come to the fire of hell, in what way is Islám superior to Christianity ? " For a while, he was silent and then went to the city. I followed. We entered a bake-house. He took my black cassock, wrapped it in his own cloak and cast both into the heated oven. A great smoke came forth. He said to me, " behold ! " The baker drew forth the cloak and put it on the saint. It was exquisitely clean whereas my cassock was so burnt that it fell into pieces. Then he said, " thus shall we enter therein and thus shall you enter. " ' Translation of the first book of the *Mathnavi* by Redhouse, (ed. London, 1881) p. 87.

¹ They will know the inhabitants of Paradise by their whiteness, and the people of Hell by the blackness of their faces. (Baidáwí, i. 326) The idea is Jewish See Tisdall's *Sources of the Qur'an*. p. 124.

² As regards the children of infidels, some say that they are placed in al-A'raf, and others that they are sent to hell. The best authorities say. that they go to heaven.

and evil works are so equal that they exactly counterpoise each other, and therefore deserve neither reward nor punishment ; and these, say they, will on the last day be admitted into Paradise, after they shall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the scale of their good works to overbalance. Others suppose this intermediate space will be a receptacle for those who have gone to war without their parents' leave, and therein suffered martyrdom ; being excluded from Paradise for their disobedience, and escaping hell because they are martyrs.' ¹

There is also an interval between the death of the body in this world and the Last Day, called al-Barzakh. 'Behind them shall be a barrier (barzakh), until the day when they shall be raised again' (xxiii. 102). When death takes place, the soul is separated from the body by the Angel of Death ; in the case of the good with ease, in that of the wicked with violence. It then enters into al-Barzakh.²

The Mushrik, one who ascribes plurality to God, will remain in hell for ever, for as infidelity (kufr), is an eternal crime, its punishment must also be eternal. 'The unbelievers among the people of the Book, and among the polytheists, shall go into the fire of Gehenna, to abide therein for aye. Of all creatures are they the worst' (xcviii. 5). 'Cast into hell every infidel, every hardened one, the hinderer of the good, the transgressor, the doubter who set up other gods with God. Cast ye him into the fierce torment' (l. 23-5).

Muslims who commit great sins, though they die unrepentant, will not remain in hell for ever, for

¹ Sale's *Qur'an*, *Preliminary Discourse*, Section iv.

² For some curious opinions with regard to the state of the soul there, see Sale's *Qur'an*, *Preliminary Discourse*, Section iv.

'Whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight of good shall behold it' (xcix. 7). It is asserted that the fact of believing in Islám is a good work and merits a reward. Baiḍáwí says that the teaching of the verse, 'Every soul shall be paid what it wrought' (iii. 24), is that 'service done is not lost. The believer will not be left in hell for ever, because, as the reward for his faith and his works cannot be paid in hell or before he enters it, it can only be given after he is released from it.'¹ Al-Ghazálí says : 'There will not remain in Hell an attester of God's Unity . . . there shall not abide eternally in the fire a single believer.'² Perfect faith consists in believing with sincerity of heart and acting in accordance thereto, but the actions are not the faith itself. Great sins prevent a man from having 'perfect faith,' but do not destroy faith, nor make the Muslim an infidel, but only a sinner.³ The Mu'tazilís teach that the Muslim who enters hell will remain there for ever, that the person who, having committed great sins, dies unrepentant, though not an infidel, ceases to be a believer, and hence suffers as the infidels do, though the punish-

¹ Baiḍáwí, i. 150.

² Ghazálí in the *Iḥyá'* 'uimū'd-dīn, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 307.

³ 'A great sin does not exclude the creature who believes from the belief (imán) and does not make him an unbeliever. And God does not forgive him who joins another with Himself, but he forgives anything beneath that, to whom He wills, of sins small or great' (An-Nisāʾi). 'It must be believed that falling into great sins, other than unbelief (kufr), does not involve unbelief ; but repentance from the sin is necessary at once. Repentance is not injured by returning to sin ; but for the new sin a new repentance is necessary.' (Al-Fudáʾi.) The quotations are from Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, pp. 311-19.

ment is lighter than that which an infidel receives. Al-Ash'arí says : ' The sinner who dies unrepentant is at the mercy of God, but the Prophet will intercede for him, as he said : " My intercession is for those among my people who commit great sins." ' " At last they enter Paradise, and, whilst being punished, they must not be in the same fire as the infidels. He in whose heart is one atom of faith cannot be finally lost.' ' If any man should repent, I (Ash'ari) do not by my reason say, " God must pardon him ; " but so it is revealed.' ¹

The orthodox belief is that Muḥammad is now an intercessor, and will be so at the Last Day. ² This intercession is of several kinds : (1) The ' great intercession,' to which the words ' It may be that thy Lord will raise thee to a glorious station ' (xvii. 81) are supposed to refer. The ' glorious station ' is said to be the place of intercession, in which all persons will praise the Prophet. The people will be in great fear. Muḥammad will say : ' O my people ! I am appointed for intercession.' Their fear will then pass away. (2) Intercession is made so that they may enter into Paradise without rendering an account. The authorities differ with regard to this. (3) Intercession is on behalf of those Muslims who ought to go to hell. (4) It is for those who are already there. No one but the Prophet can make these intercessions. (5) Intercession is for an increase of rank to those who are in

¹ Shahrastáni, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 73.

² Bukhárí on the authority of Abú Huraira records a Tradition thus The Prophet said : " Each prophet has a special prayer ; if God so wills it, I will keep mine for my people at the day of judgment." ', *Faidu'l-Bárl*, Part xx. 165.

Paradise. The Mu'tazilís, however, maintained that there would be no intercession for Muslims guilty of great sins, and quoted the verse, 'Fear ye the day when soul shall not satisfy for soul at all, nor shall any ransom be taken, neither shall they be helped' (ii. 45).¹ The orthodox bring in reply, this Tradition: 'The Prophet said: "My intercession is for the men of my following who have committed great sins."' If this Tradition is disputed, they then say that the verse in the Qur'án just quoted does not refer to Muslims at all, but to the infidels. The orthodox hold that the Prophet will intercede for Muslims who commit the greater sins, and quote: 'Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission?' (ii. 256). This verse, however, only proves that intercession may be 'by permission,' not that Muḥammad is an intercessor in his own right. According to a Tradition related by Anas, the Prophet said: 'In the day of resurrection, Musalmáns will not be able to move; they will be greatly distressed and say, "Would to God that we had asked Him to create some one to intercede for us, that we might be taken from this place, and be delivered from tribulation and sorrow."' The Tradition goes on to state how they sought help from Adam and the prophets of the old dispensation, how one and all excused themselves on account of their own sinfulness. Jesus, it is said, will decline, because men have worshipped him as God. 'Then,'

¹ Súra xix. 35. 'Each of them shall come to Him on the day of Judgment singly,' seems to bear on this point. The commentators say it means 'he yár wa madadgár'—without friend or helper.

said the Prophet, 'the Musalmáns will come to me, and I will ask permission to go into God's presence and intercede for them.'

The second advent of Christ is a sign of the last day. 'Jesus is no more than a servant whom We favoured . . . and he shall be a sign of the last hour' (xliii. 61).¹ He will not, according to the Qur'án, come then as a judge, but, like all other prophets, to be judged.² 'We formed with them i.e. prophets' a strict covenant, that God may question the men of truth as to their truth (i.e. how they discharged their prophetic functions)' (xxxiii. 7, 8). He will come to bear witness against the Jews who reject him :³ 'In the day of resurrection, He will be a witness against them' (iv. 158).

It is necessary to believe in the pond of the Prophet called Haud,⁴ full of sweet and refreshing water, filled by the river kauthar which flows from under the throne of God. This faith is founded on the verse 'Truly We have given thee an abundance (kauthar)' (cviii. 1; xlvii. 16). Bukhárí says.

¹ Other signs are the appearance of al-Mahdí, of al-Dajjál or Antichrist, of al-Dábba, the beast, the decay of faith on the earth, tumults and seditions, war with the Greeks and Romans, great distress, the refusal of the inhabitants of 'Iráq and Syria to pay tribute, the appearance of Gog and Magog and the rising of the sun from the west.

² Aḥmad bin Háyat, a Mu'tazilí, taught that Christ would judge men at the last day. Shahrastání, *al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, p. 42.

³ It is believed that he will descend near the mosque at Damascus, at the time of afternoon prayer; that he will act as Imám in public devotions, live for forty years on earth and be buried at Madína. Peace and prosperity will abound during these forty years.

⁴ 'Whoever drinks of it a single draught, will never thirst again thereafter. Its breadth is a journey of a month; its water is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey; around it, are ewers like the stars of heaven; into it flow two canals from al-Kauthar.' alḠha-zálí, *Iḥyá' ulūmu'd-dín*, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 306.

'The meaning of *kauthar* is the abundance of good which God gives to the Prophet.' Baiḍáwí says it refers to the abundance of knowledge, good actions and honour in this world and the next possessed by the Prophet.¹

There are many degrees of felicity in heaven to which the believers are admitted. The Prophet, according to Tirmidhí, said there were one hundred. Some of these may possibly be meant by the eight names they give to Paradise. (1) *Jannatu'l-Khuld*. 'Say : Is this, or the Garden of Eternity which was promised to the God-fearing, best ?' (xxv. 16). (2) *Jannatu's-Salám*. 'For them is a Dwelling of Peace with their Lord' (vi. 127). (3) *Dáru'l-Qarár*. 'The life to come is the Mansion which abideth' (xl. 42). (4) *Jannatu'l-'Adan*. 'To the Faithful, both men and women, God promiseth gardens and goodly mansions in the Garden of Eden' (ix. 73). (5) *Jannatu'l-má'wa*. 'Near which is the Garden of Repose' (liii. 15). (6) *Jannatu'n-Na'im*. 'Amid delights, shall the righteous dwell' (lxxxii. 13.) (7) *Jannatu'l-Illiyún*. 'The register of the righteous is in Illiyún' (lxxxiii. 18). (8) *Jannatu'l-Firdaus*. 'Those who believe and do the things that are right, they shall have the Gardens of Paradise for their abode' (xviii. 107).

Hell has seven divisions. 'Verily hell (*Jahannam*) is the promise for them one and all ; it hath seven portals, and at every door there is a separate party of them' (xv. 44). The *Qur'án*. though it mentions the names of these divisions, does not state

¹ Baiḍáwí, ii. 419

what classes of persons will be sent to each ; but Muslim commentators have supplied the needed information.¹ They classify them thus :—(1) Jahan-nam, for sinners who die without repentance. This includes Muslims; for ‘There is not one of you who will not go down to it hell’ (xix. 72).² (2) Laẓa, for the infidels (i.e. Christians). ‘For Laẓa, dragging him by the scalp, shall claim him,’ etc. (lxx. 15-17). (3) Ḥuṭamah, a fire for the Jews, and according to some, for Christians (civ. 4). (4) Sa‘ír, for devils, the descendants of Iblís, for ‘Those who devour the property of orphans unjustly, only devour into their bellies fire, and they broil in Sa‘ír’ (iv. 11). (5) Saqar, for the Magians ; also for those who neglect prayer. ‘Taste ye the touch of Saqar’ (liv. 49 ; lxxiv. 44). (6) Jaḥím, a boiling caldron for idolaters and also for Gog and Magog. ‘Thou shalt not be questioned as to the followers of al-Jaḥím’ (ii. 113). (7) Háwiya, a bottomless pit for hypocrites that is, all those who outwardly professed Islám and inwardly, were infidels. They were called Munáfiqún. ‘As for him whose balance is light, his dwelling shall be Háwiya’ (ci. 7). It is said that heaven has one division more than hell, to show that God’s mercy exceeds His justice. At the last day, hell will be brought to the seat of judgment. ‘And hell on that day shall be moved up’ (xxxix. 24).

¹ There is nothing in the Qur’án to justify this classification of those who go to hell. The Qur’án simply says that a separate party will be at each door.

² According to the Traditions, hell will be cool and pleasant for those Muslims who have not committed the ‘greater sins.’ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islám*, p. 173.

The Mu'tazilís say that heaven and hell are not in existence now,¹ but will be created after the day of judgment ; for they maintain that, if both are now in existence, they must be destroyed with the heavens and the earth at the last day. The orthodox declare that both do exist now, and quote this verse : ' There shall be a blast on the trumpet, and all who are in the heavens and on the earth shall expire, save those whom God shall vouchsafe to live ' (xxxix. 68). The ' those whom ' are said to be those in heaven and in hell, and therefore heaven and hell must exist now, as well as then. Again, we read : ' Near the Sidra tree which marks the boundary, near which is the Garden of Repose ' (Jannatu'l-Má'wa² (liii. 14). The Mu'tazilís say for ' jannat ' we should read ' janáḥ '—a wing—which by metonymy stands for Gabriel, and so there is no reference to heaven at all. The orthodox reply that no Qárí has ever adopted the reading Janáḥ for Jannat. The usual belief is that the statements in the Qur'án and the Traditions regarding the pleasures of Paradise, are to be taken literally."

¹ This seems to be the view of Sir Syed Aḥmad Khan. He considers the whole description of heaven and hell to be figurative. (See *Taṣdīf-i-Aḥmadīyya*, Part I, iv. 35-6). The orthodox reply to this is in a Tradition recorded by Bukhárí ; ' The Prophet said : " When a man dies he is in paradise or in hell : if he was a man of paradise ahlu'l-Jannat, he will be in paradise ; if a man of fire (ahlu'n-Nár), in hell. " ' The terms ' man of paradise ', ' man of fire, ' are explained to men that they are fated so to be. Bukhárí also gives many Traditions to show what is now going on in paradise, all of which are said to prove that the view of the Mu'tazilís is wrong. See, *Faiḍu'l-Bárr*, Part xvii. 20-9.

² ' A place for the God-fearing, or for the souls of martyrs ' (Baidáwí. ii. 2 3). Ibn 'Abbás says it is the place where Gabriel dwells.

³ Syed Amír 'Alí in *The Spirit of Islám*, p. 394, says : ' The descriptions are realistic, in some places almost sensuous ; but to say that they

6. **THE PREDESTINATION OF GOOD AND EVIL.**—I have in the section in which the attribute 'will' is described given some account of the dogmatic statements concerning the doctrine of predestination ; but as it always forms a distinct chapter in Musalman books, I treat it separately here.

Al-Barkavi, concerning predestination, says:—

It is necessary to confess that good and evil take place by the predestination and predetermination of God ; that all that has been and all that will be was decreed in eternity and written on the preserved table ;¹ that the faith of the believer, the piety of the pious and good actions are foreseen, willed, predestinated, decreed by the writing on the preserved table produced and approved by God ; that the unbelief of the unbeliever, the impiety of the impious and bad actions come to pass with the fore-knowledge, will, predestination and decree of God, but not with His satisfaction and approval. Should any ask why God willeth and produceth evil, we can only reply that He may have wise ends in view which we cannot comprehend.

are sensual, or that Muḥammad, or any of his followers, even the ultra-literalists accepted them as such is a calumny.' Such an explanation commends itself to Muslims of high moral tone, especially where, as in India, they have been influenced by Western culture and Christian thought, but it is difficult to believe that Muḥammad so intended his words to be taken, or that his hearers so understood them. Muḥammad's mind was intensely practical and not in the least given to mysticism. The punishments of hell are material. No orthodox commentator, so far as I know, attempts to allegorise them ; why then should the material joys of paradise be set aside. An argument for the allegorical view is based on the fact that the descriptions of a voluptuous paradise are given at a time when Muḥammad was living a chaste and temperate life with a single wife. For discussion of this point, see my *Historical Development of the Qur'ān* (3rd ed.), pp. 27-32.

¹ This, the Lauḥu'l-Mahfūz, is referred to in Súra lxxxv. 22, as that on which the Qur'ān is written. In Súra xxxvi. 11, the actions of men are said to be written in 'the clear book of our decrees.' This is called the Imámu'l-Mubín, 'the clear prototype.'

There are three well-defined schools of thought on this subject of predestination :—

First, The Jabaríans, so called from the word *jabr*, compulsion, deny all free agency in man,¹ and say that man is necessarily constrained by the force of God's eternal and immutable decree to act as he does.² They hold that as God is the absolute Lord He can, if He so wills, admit all men into paradise, or cast all into hell. This sect is one of the branches of the Ash'aríans, with whom on most points they agree. There are several subdivisions of the Jabarían sect ; those who say man has absolutely no power at all over his actions ; those who say he has the power, but cannot exercise it, and those who, like the Ash'aríans, hold the dogma of *kasb*.

Second, The Qadaríans, who deny *al-qádar*, or God's absolute decree, say that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is altogether a free agent. This sect is generally considered to be a branch of the Mu'tazila body,

¹ 'The honour of man lies in being under compulsion, not in having a share in free will.' *Gulshan-i-Ráz*, (ed. London, 1880) p. 56.

² The Prophet of God said that Adam and Moses (in the world of spirits) maintained a debate before God, and Adam got the better of Moses, who said : "Thou art that Adam whom God created and breathed into thee His own spirit, and made the angels bow down before thee, and placed thee in Paradise ; after which thou threwest man upon the earth, from the fault which thou didst commit." Adam replied, 'Thou art that Moses whom God selected for His prophecy and to converse with, and He gave thee twelve tables, in which are explained everything, and He made thee His confidant and the bearer of His secrets ; then how long was the Bible written before I was created ?' Moses said : "Forty years." Then said Adam, "Didst thou see in the Bible that Adam disobeyed God ?" "Yes." "Dost thou reproach me on a matter which God wrote in the Bible forty years before creating me ?" "

though in reality it existed before Wáṣil (died A.H. 131) quitted the school of his master Ḥasan. As Wáṣil, however, followed the opinions of Ma'badu'l-Juhani (died A.H. 80), the leading Qadarian divine, the Mu'tazilis and Qadarians are now practically one and the same.

Third, The Ash'arians maintained that God has one eternal will, which is applied to whatsoever He willeth, both of His own actions and those of men; that He willeth that which He knoweth and what is written on the preserved table; that He willeth both good and evil.¹ So far they agree with the Jabaríans; but then they seem to allow some power to man, a tenet I have already explained when describing their idea of 'kasb'. (*Ante*, p. 252). The orthodox, or Sunní belief, is theoretically Ash'arian, but practically, the Sunnis are confirmed Jabaríans. The Mu'tazila doctrines are looked upon as quite heretical.

No subject has been more warmly discussed in Islâm than that of predestination. Imâm Abú Ḥanífa puts the matter thus: 'Works are of three kinds; those ordered by God (farīdah); those which are good (fāḍilah); those which are evil (ma'ṣiyah). The first came into existence by the direct order of God, by His decree, desire, power, creation, knowledge, and grace; the second are not by direct order (farḍ) of God, but are by His decree; the third are not by order of God, but by His

¹ 'Nothing exists upon earth, be it good or bad, but that which God wills . . . Good and evil happen according to destiny (qaḍa) and decree (qadar) of God for good or evil.' Al-Ash'arī, quoted by Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 295.

appointment, though He has no pleasure therein : by His creation, though not of His grace. He knew of them. All three kinds are written on the 'preserved table.

The following abstract of some lengthy discussions will present the points of difference.

The Ash'aríans, who in this matter represent in the main orthodox views, formulate their objections to the Mu'tazila system thus :—

(1) If man is the causer of an action by the force of his own will, then he should also have the power of controlling the result of that action.

(2) If it be granted that man has the power to originate an act, it is necessary that he should know all acts, because a creator should be independent in act and choice. Intention must be conditioned by knowledge. To this the Mu'tazilís reply that a man need not know the length of a road before he walks, or the structure of the throat before he talks.

(3) Suppose a man wills to move his body, and God at the same time wills it to be steady, then, if both intentions come to pass, there will be a collection of opposites ; if neither, a removal of opposites ; if the exaltation of the first, an unreasonable preference.

(4) If man can create an act, some of his works will be better than some of the works of God ; e.g., a man determines to have faith : now faith is a better thing than reptiles, which are created by God.

(5) If man is free to act, why can he not make at once a human body ? why does he need to thank God for grace and faith ?

(6) But better far than all argument, the orthodox say, is the testimony of the Book. 'No mischance chanceth either on earth or in your own persons, but ere We created them it was in the Book'¹ (lvii. 22). 'Thou truly canst not guide whom thou desirest, but God guideth whom He will' (xxviii. 56). This verse is said to have been revealed on the following occasion. When Abú Tálíb was about to die, the Prophet said: 'O uncle! say the kalima, "There is no god but God," and I will testify to God concerning it on thy behalf;' but Abú Jahl and 'Abdu'lláh bin Abí said to the dying man, 'What! dost thou turn from the sect of Abú'l-Muṭṭalib?' The Prophet ceased not to urge him to confess the faith of Islám, but the old man said: 'I am of the sect of Abú'l-Muṭṭalib, and I refuse to say the kalima.' Then replied the Prophet, 'By God, until prohibited,² I will seek pardon for thee.' Then this verse was revealed, showing that God alone could will the change the Prophet desired.³ We now return to the quotations from the Qu'rán. 'All things have We created under a fixed decree' (liv. 49). 'When God created you and that ye make' (xxxvii. 94). 'Some of them there were whom God guided, and there were others decreed to err' (xvi. 38). As God decrees faith and obedience, He must be the causer of it, for 'on the hearts of these hath God graven the Faith' (lviii. 22). 'It is He

¹ That is, the Book of eternal decrees.

² It is said that the verse [Súratu'l-Tauba (ix) 114] forbidding prayer for those who died as idolaters, was now given.

³ *Ṣaḥíḥu'l-Bukḥarí* (ed. Leyden), ii. 305, commentary on Súratu'l-Qisás. See also Baiqdwí, ii. 85 and Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 65-6.

who causeth you to laugh and weep, to die and make alive (liii. 44). 'If God pleased, He would surely bring them, one and all, to the guidance' (vi. 36). 'Had God pleased, He had guided you all aright' (vi. 150). 'Had the Lord pleased, He would have made mankind of one religion' xi. 120). 'God will mislead whom He pleaseth, and whom He pleaseth He will place upon the straight path' (vi. 39). Tradition records that the Prophet said: 'God is the maker of all makers and of their actions.'¹

The Mu'tazilís took up the opposite side of this great question and said :—

(1) If man has no power to will or to do then what is the difference between praising God and sinning against Him ; between faith and infidelity ; good and evil ; what is the use of commands and prohibitions ; rewards and punishments ; promises and threats ; what is the use of prophets and books.²

(2) Some acts of men are bad, such as tyranny and polytheism. If these are created by God, it follows that to tyrannize and to ascribe plurality to

¹ Ibn Káh, commenting on the verse, 'When thy Lord brought forth their descendants from the reins of the sons of Adam and took them to witness against themselves, "Am I not," said He, "your Lord?" they said, "Yes, we witness it"' (vii. 171), goes on to say, 'God formed all the prophets and saints into one class, and the martyrs into another. The pious men, also, were separated into one, and the wicked into another. One class was formed of the obedient servants, while the unbelievers, namely, the Jews, the Christians, the Magians, the Hindus and others, were likewise divided into several parties. Then they were shaped into forms, that is, the shape in which he was to appear in the world was predestined for each one.' This passage is quoted with full approval by the Wahhábí author of the *Taqwiyatu'l-Imán*.

² *Sharh-i-'Aqá'id-i-Jámi*, p. 95.

the Deity, is to render obedience. To this the Ash'arians reply that orders are of two kinds, immediate and mediate. The former, which they call 'Amru't-taqwiyat,' is the order, 'Be and it was.' This comprehends all existences, and according to it whatever is ordered must come to pass. The latter they call 'Amru't-tashrī', an order given in the Law. This comes to men through prophets, and thus is to be obeyed. True obedience is to act according to that which is revealed, not according to the secret intentions of God, for these we know not.

(3) If God decrees the acts of men, He should bear the name of that which He decrees. Thus the causer of infidelity is an infidel ; of tyranny a tyrant, and so on ; but to speak thus of God is blasphemy.

(4) If infidelity is decreed by God, He must wish it ; but a prophet desires faith and obedience, and so is opposed to God. To this, the orthodox reply that God knows by His eternal knowledge that such a man will die an infidel. If a prophet intends by bringing the message of salvation to such an one to make God's knowledge become ignorance, he would be doing wrong ; but as he does not know the secret decrees of God, his duty is to deliver his message according to the words of the Ḥadīth : 'A prophet has only to deliver the clear message.'

(5) The Mu'tazilīs claimed as on their side all verses of the Qur'ān in which the words to do, to construct, to renew, to create, are applied to men. Such are the verses : 'Whatever is in the heavens and in the earth is God's, that He may reward those who do evil according to their deeds : and those who

do good will He reward with good things' (liii. 32. 'Whoso shall have wrought evil shall not be recompensed but with its like ; but whoso shall have done the things that are right, whether male or female, and is a belieevr, these shall enter Paradise' (xl. 43). 'Say : The truth is from the Lord ; let him then who will, believe ; and let him who will, be an infidel' xviii. 28).¹ 'Those who add gods to God will say : " If God had pleased, neither we nor our fathers had given Him companions." Say : 'Verily ye follow only a conceit, ye utter lies'" (vi. 149). 'Whatever good betideth thee is from God ; whatever evil betideth thee is from thyself' (iv. 81). The Tradition is also very plain. 'All good is in Thy hands, and evil is not to Thee.' The Mu'tazilís also held that it was incumbent on God to guide all men and make them good ; to which statement their opponents replied by saying that no one can predicate of God that anything is incumbent to Him.

The Ash'aríans have one famous text which they bring to bear against all this reasoning and evidence. It is : ' This truly is a warning ; and whoso willeth, taketh the way of his Lord ; but *will it ye shall not*, unless God will it, for God is knowing, wise' (lxxvi. 29, 30). To the Tradition they reply : (1) That there is a difference between acquiescence in evil and decreeing it. Thus the expression ' God

¹ Imám Záhíd says that this verse is for the purpose of a warning and does not imply permission. The orthodox commentator 'Abbás says : ' This verse refers to the decree. " He whom God wills to believe certainly will do so, and whom He wills to be an infidel will be one," and not at all to man's free will.' *Tafsír-i-Husaini*, ii. 9. See also Baiḍawí, i. 571.

willeth not tyranny for His servants,' does not mean that God hath not decreed it, but that tyranny is not one of His attributes: so 'evil is not to Thee' means it is not an attribute of God; and (2) the Hadīth or Tradition must be explained in accordance with the teaching of the Qur'án.¹ They also produce the Tradition, 'Certainly God is the maker of all makers and of their actions.'²

The Muslim philosophers tried to find a way out of the difficulty. Averhoes says: 'We are free to act in this way or that, but our will is always determined by some exterior cause. For example, we see something which pleases us, we are drawn to it in spite of ourselves. Our will is thus bound by exterior causes. These causes exist according to a certain order of things which is founded on the general laws of nature. God alone knows beforehand the necessary connexion which to us is a mystery. The connexion of our will with exterior causes is determined by the laws of nature. In theology we call this decrees and predestination.'³

¹ *Sharḥ-i-'Aqā'id-i-Jāmi*, p. 94. For a good account of the Ash'arian position, see pp. 90-4 of this same book.

² 'Islām has not settled the great conflict. In theology as in law, Muḥammad was an opportunist. On the one hand his Allāh is the absolute Semitic despot who guides aright and leads astray. . . . On the other hand, men are exhorted to repentance and punishment is threatened against them if they remain hardened in unbelief. All these phases of a wandering and subjective mind which lived only in the perception of the moment appear in the Qur'án.' Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 128.

'His (Muḥammad) mind was not of a sort in which contradictory propositions occasion any difficulty,' See Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 141.

³ S. Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 458.

As Islám grew into a system, the Muslims fell into a Cabbalism, and a superstitious reverence for the mere letters and words of the Qur'án. With this declension came a still more distorted view of the character of God. The quotations made from the Qur'án in the last few pages will have shown that whilst some passages seem to attribute freedom to man, and speak of his consequent responsibility, others teach a clear and distinct fatalism. The great strength of Islám lay in the energy with which Muḥammad preached the doctrine that God was a Divine Ruler, one who would deal righteous judgment, who 'taught man that which he knew not.' Emphasis is laid on the fear rather than on the love of God, men are made to do what is right by God's decree, not by His grace; by fear of punishment, not by desire of nearness to God. Thus Islám is defective in the higher aspects of spiritual life. It is, as its name implies, subjection to the works of the law.¹ As the system became more complex and dogmatic, men lost the sense of the nearness of God. He became an unapproachable Being. A harsh unfeeling Fate took the place of the Omnipotent Ruler.² It is this dark fatalism which, whatever the Qur'án may teach on the subject, is the ruling principle in all Muslim communities. It is this which makes all Muḥammadan nations decay.

¹ For the meaning of the term Islám see Sell, *Outlines of Islám* (C.L.S.), Chapter ii.

² The God of Islám has been described as :—

An unconditioned, irrespective will,

Demanding simple awe,

Beyond all principles of good or ill,

Above idea of law. Monckton Milnes, *Palm Leaves*, p. 36.

Careless of self-improvement, heedless of the need of progress, the Muslim nations, still independent, are in all that relates to the higher aspects of intellectual and civilized life far behind the nations of the West.

A Tradition¹ states that when God created man from a lump of clay, He broke it into two pieces, cast one into hell and said, 'These to eternal fire and I care not': the other He threw into heaven, saying, 'These to Paradise and I care not.'²

The subject of 'Ilmu'l-'Aqá'id, or the science of dogma, properly ends here, but most Muslim treatises add a few practical remarks, such as the believer who commits murder, fornication, and other evil deeds, does not cease to be a Muslim, provided that he does not say that these are allowed. Should he die unrepentant, God can punish him for a while in hell, or forgive him without punishment.³ It is

¹ On the authority of the great Traditionists, Muslim, Málik, Tirmidhí and Abú Dá'úd it is said that Muḥammad declared that God made some persons for paradise and some for hell. See *Mishkátu'l-Maṣābih*, Bábu'l-Imán bi'l-Qadr.

² On this story, Palgrave remarks 'In this we have before us the adequate idea of predestination, or, to give it a truer name, predamnation, held and taught in the schools of the Qur'án. Paradise and hell are at once totally independent of love and hatred on the part of the Deity, and of merits or demerits, of good or evil conduct, on the part of the creature; and, in the corresponding theory, rightly so, since the very actions which we call good or ill-deserving, right or wrong, wicked or virtuous, are in their essence all one and of one, and accordingly merit neither praise nor blame, punishment nor recompense, except and simply after the arbitrary value which the self-regulating will of the great despot may choose to impute to them.' Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 367-8.

³ For a definition of repentance and the probability of its acceptance, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 109. There is an Arabic proverb, 'He left off sinning, but never asked forgiveness.'—ترك الذنب ولا طلب المغفرة.

right to call one who commits the greater sins a wicked Muslim, but not a *káfir*. The *Mu'tazilis* hold that such an one is neither a believer nor an infidel, but something between the two. The *Maz-dariyya*, a subdivision of the *Mu'tazilis*, believed that a sinner who died unrepentant would be in hell for ever. The *Khárijites* also agreed with this view, even though the man had confessed Islám with his lips. The *Murjíyya* declared that faith and faith alone saved. If the sinner believed in God and His Prophet he would not remain in hell for ever. This difference of view as to the effect of faith, the one making repentance an integral part of it, the other looking only to an outward confession led to a very important controversy as to the precise nature of faith. The *Najjaríyya* who on some points hold *Mu'tazila* doctrines, say that unrepentant Muslims will go to hell, but will be released after a time, for 'justice does not require equality of treatment of bad Muslims and *káfirs*.'

The *ḥadd*, a punishment based on a *zahir*, or obvious, sentence of the *Qur'an*, requires that a Muslim who apostatizes shall be put to death.¹ The

¹ The punishment of death is sometimes decreed for lesser offences. In the latter part of the year 1879, one of the Turkish 'Ulamá, named *Aḥmad*, was condemned to death for having assisted Dr. Koelle, an English clergyman residing in Constantinople, in the translation of the Book of Common Prayer and a tract called *Christ the Word of God*. Owing to the urgent representations of the British Ambassador the *Khoja's* life was spared, but he was banished to the island of Chio. The Porte promised to maintain his family whilst he was absent. It need scarcely be said that nothing of the kind was done.

On January 16, 1844, the Earl of Aberdeen wrote to Sir Stratford Canning thus: 'The Christian Powers will not endure that the Porte should insult and trample on their Faith, by treating as a criminal any

hopeless condition of the infidels for whom no guidance was to be sought and with whom no friendship was to be made until they fled their homes for the cause of God, that is, became Muslims, is described in the *Súratu'n-Nisa'* (iv.) 90-1; 'but should they apostatize then the order was 'seize them and slay them wherever ye find them.' (iv. 91). Thus death is the penalty for apostasy. Another verse which seems to bear on the subject is: 'For this cause have We ordained to the children of Israel that he who slayeth any one, unless it be a person guilty of slaughter, or of spreading disorder in the land, shall be as though he had slain all mankind (v. 35). Persons spreading disorder may be slain,

person who embraces it.' All that was gained by this was the publication by the Porte of a Memorandum in the year 1856 containing these words: 'As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in the Ottoman dominions, no subject of His Majesty the Sultán shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall he be in any way annoyed on this account. None shall be compelled to change their religion.' It will be seen that this does not meet the case of a convert from Islám, but the British Ambassador advised the British Government to be content with this statement. In a despatch dated February 12, 1856, he says: 'The law of the Qur'án is not abolished, it is true, respecting renegades, and the Sultán's Ministers affirm that such a stretch of authority would exceed even His Majesty's legal powers.' The Ambassador goes on to say that, though this is the case, the British Government could remonstrate were the Qur'anic law applied and there the matter rested. Koelle, *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 475.

1 'Why are ye two parties on the subject of the hypocrites, when God hath cast them off for their doings? Desire ye to guide those whom God hath led astray? But for him whom God leadeth astray, thou shalt by no means find a pathway.

'They desire that ye should be infidels as they are infidels, and that ye should be alike. Take, therefore, none of them for friends, till all have fled their homes for the cause of God. If they turn back then seize them, and slay them wherever ye shall find them, but take none of them as friends or helpers' (iv. 90-1).

Baiḍáwí explains 'disorder' as 'polytheism and highway robbery.'¹

The principle which underlies this is that the persons so described, if they are apostates, as Baiḍáwí says they are, are dangerous to the State and become outlaws. According to the law of Islám, as it exists to-day, a person who kills an outlaw is not liable to punishment.²

In the case of an apostate woman, Imám Abú Ḥanífa ruled that she should be imprisoned and beaten every day. The other three Imáms, Málik, Sháfi'í, and Ḥanbal, said that she should be put to death in accordance with the Tradition which says, 'He who changes his religion, kill.' The Arabic word 'man,' usually translated 'he who,' is of common gender, and so these Imáms include women in the list of those who, after apostasy, are to be killed.³

God does not pardon polytheism and infidelity, but He can, if He willeth, pardon all other crimes. If any one is asked, 'Dost thou believe?' he should reply, 'I am truly a believer,' and not say, 'If God willeth.' If any one says to him, 'Wilt thou die in the Faith?' he should reply, 'I do not know; God knows.' Except when speaking of prophets, or of those of whom the prophets have spoken, such as Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán, and 'Alí, it must not be said of any one, 'He is gone to Paradise,' for God only knows his state. Prayer must be said for a deceased Muslim whether he was a good or bad

الشرک و قطع الطريق¹

² See *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 253; and Sell, *The Muslim Conquests in Spain* (C.L.S.), p. 48 and note.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, 4me Série, tome 17, p. 582.

man. To give alms, to read the Qur'án, to perform other good works, and to apply the merit thus gained to the souls of the dead, is a pious and beneficial act. This opinion, however, though very common, seems to be in direct contradiction to the following statements of the Qur'án: 'He who commits kufr (infidelity), on him is his kufr' (xxx. 43), that is, the result will be on him. 'No burdened one shall bear another's burden' (vi. 164).

This chapter deals mainly with the orthodox view of Islám, now modified in some respects by modern culture. Of that culture Professor Nicholson says: 'Whether it will eventually strike deeper and penetrate the inmost barriers of that scholastic discipline and literary tradition which are so firmly rooted in the affections of the Arab people, or whether it will continue to be an exotic and highly-prized accomplishment of the enlightened few, but an object of scorn and detestation to Moslems in general—these are questions which may not be solved for centuries to come.' *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 469.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

MUSLIM PHILOSOPHY

I HAVE shown in the preceding chapter how the earlier scholastics, or the Mu'tazilís, as they are called, were finally crushed by the orthodox party. The later scholastics, or the philosophers, form the subject of this note. The Khalífa al-Ma'mún (A.D. 813-33), a notorious free-thinker, was the first to give an impulse to philosophic researches.¹ It was then that Greek philosophical works were translated into Arabic. The Greek author most patronized was Aristotle, partly because his empirical method accorded with the positive tendencies of the Arab mind better than the pure idealism of Plato, and partly because his system of logic was considered a useful auxiliary in the daily quarrels between the rival theological schools. It was quite natural that Aristotle should be thus followed. 'The Musalmán mind was trained in habits of absolute obedience to the authority of fixed dogmas. The Muslims did not so much wish to discover truth as to cultivate their own intellect. For that purpose a sharp and subtle systematist like Aristotle was the very man they required.'² The Moors and Spanish Jews were devoted students of the peripatetic philosophy. Some idea of the range of subjects then discussed may be gained from an account, given by the Arab historian, Ma'súdí, of a meeting held under the presidentship of Yaḥyá, one of the famous Barmakide family.³ Yaḥyá thus addressed the meeting: 'You have discussed at length the theory of concealment (al-kumún) and manifestation (aẓ-ẓahúr), of pre-existence and creation, of duration and stability, of movement and

¹ 'The latest stronghold of paganism was the University of Athens. It was suppressed by the Emperor Justinian I in A.D. 529. Its teachers fled into Persia, and there laid the foundation of the later literary period of Islám under the ruling family of the 'Abbasids.' Kurtz, *Church History*, i. 240.

² Kingsley, *Alexandria and her Schools*, p. 160.

³ *Muruju'dh-Dhahab* (ed. Paris, 1864) vi. 368.

quiescence, of the union and the separation of the divine substance, of existence and non-existence, of bodies and accidents, of the approval and the refutation, of the isnáds of the Traditions, of the absence or the existence of attributes in God, of potential and active force, of substance, quantity, modality and relation, of life and annihilation. You have examined the question as to whether the Imám rules by divine right or by popular election; you have had an exhaustive discussion on metaphysical subjects in their principles and corollaries. Occupy yourselves to-day with the subject of love.'

The translation of the works of Aristotle and of other Greek authors was made by Syrian and Chaldean Christians, and especially by the Nestorians, who, as physicians, were in high favour with the liberal Khalífas of the 'Abbásid dynasty. In some cases the translation into Arabic was made from Syriac versions, for in the time of the Emperor Justinian many Greek works had been translated into the latter language. The most celebrated translator was the Nestorian physician Ḥunain ibn Ishāq (died A.D. 876), a man profoundly acquainted with the Syriac, Greek, and Arabic languages. He was at the head of a school of interpreters in Baghdád, to which his son Ishāq bin-Ḥunain and his nephew Hubaish al-Asam also belonged. In the tenth century (A.D.) Yaḥyá bin 'Adi and 'Ísá bin Zará'a translated some works and corrected earlier translations of others. It is to these men that the Arabs owe their chief acquaintance with Aristotle and Plato.

The study of Aristotle spread rapidly amongst the Muslim people, especially amongst the heretical sects. The orthodox looked with grave suspicion on the movement, but could not for a while stay the impulse. The historian Makrizi says: 'The doctrine of the philosophers has worked amongst the Muslims evils most fatal. It serves only to augment the errors of the heretics and to increase their impiety.'¹ It came into contact with Muslim dogmas in such subjects as the creation of the world, the special providence of God, and the

¹ Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 315.

nature of the divine attributes. To a certain extent the Mu'tazilís were supported by the philosophical theories they embraced, but this did not diminish the disfavour with which the orthodox looked upon the study of philosophy. Still it grew, and men in self-defence had to adopt philosophic methods. Thus arose a later system of scholasticism. The earlier system was confined mainly to matters of religion; the later school occupied itself with the whole range of philosophic investigation, and thus went farther and farther away from orthodox Islám.

The Muslims themselves did not write books on philosophy in the earlier period. Men of liberal tendencies imbibed its teaching, but orthodoxy finally gained the day over the earlier scholastics, and in the form known as that of the Ash'arian School became again supreme. The great intellectual movement of the philosophers proper, the later scholastics (Mutakallimúm), lasted longer; but by the end of the twelfth century (A.D.) the whole Muḥammadan world had again become orthodox. Šalāḥu'd-Dín (Saladin) and his successors were strong supporters of the Ash'aríans.

The period now under review was one prolific of authors on grammar, rhetoric, logic, exegesis, traditions, and the various branches of philosophy; but the men who stand out most prominently as philosophers were then, and are now, considered heretics. Strictly speaking, one should not speak of Arab, but of Muslim philosophy, for, curiously enough, only one famous philosopher, al-Kindi, was an Arab.

Al-Kindi¹ was born at Baṣra, on the Persian Gulf. He died about A.D. 870. He was a very scientific man, but

¹ 'In the first generation of the philosophers of Islám, in the narrower sense, stands al-Kindi, commonly called the philosopher of the Arabs. The name belonged to him of right, for he is almost the only example of a student of Aristotle, sprung from the blood of the desert. His rôle was translating, and during the reigns of al-Ma'mún and al-Mu'tasim a multitude of translations and original works *de omni scibili* came from his hands. In the orthodox reaction under al-Mutawakkil he fared ill, his library was confiscated but afterwards restored. He died about A.H. 260, and with him dies the brief, golden century of eager acquisition, and the scholastic period enters in philosophy as in theology.' Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 161

a thorough rationalist in theology. He composed commentaries on the logic of Aristotle. In his great work on the unity of God he has strayed far away from Muslim dogmas.

Al-Farábí,¹ another philosopher patronized by the 'Abbasids, seems to have denied not only the rigid and formal Islámic view of inspiration, but any objective revelation at all. He was for a while under the influence of Šúffism, and held that intuition was a true inspiration, and that all who had acquired intuitive knowledge were real prophets. This is the only revelation he admits. He received his philosophic training at Baghdád, where for a while he taught; but finally he went to Damascus, where he died, A.D. 950.

Ibn Síná, better known as Avicenna, a man of Persian origin, was a philosopher of great note, but of him it is said that, in spite of the concessions he made to the religious ideas of his age, he could not find favour for his opinions, which ill accord with the principles of Islám. He was devoted to the study of Aristotle and a mystic. His opponents assert that he defended dissimulation as to the religion of the country in which we might be, and that he said that a philosopher might perform religious ceremonies, though for him they might be devoid of meaning. He was born near Bukhára in the year A.D. 980. For a while he taught medicine and philosophy in Isfahán. He had many enemies and when, under the later 'Abbásid Khalífas, a reaction took place against philosophy and learning his works were consigned to the flames in Baghdád by the order of the Khalífa al-Mustanjid bi'lláh (A.D. 1160-70).²

Ibn Bájja (Avempace), a disciple of al-Farábí, was one of the most celebrated Muslim philosophers of Spain. He was born at Saragossa towards the end of the eleventh century. He is distinguished for having opposed the mystical tendencies of the teaching of al-Ghazálí, and for maintaining that speculative science alone was capable of leading man to a true conception of his own proper nature. He was violently

¹ For a good account of the work of al-Farábí, see Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 162.

² De Boer, *Philosophy in Islám*, p. 148.

attacked by the orthodox divines, who declared that all philosophical teaching was 'a calamity for religion and an affliction to those who were in the good way.' It is said that he died by poison.

Al-Ghazálí was born A.H. 450 at Tús, where also he died in A.H. 505.¹ He was a famous Muslim divine, and by some has been placed on a level with the four great Imáms. He adopted scholastic methods. For a while he was President of the Nizámiah college at Baghdád. He travelled much, and wrote many books to prove the superiority of Islám over all other religions and over philosophy. The first result of his wide and extensive study of the writings of the philosophers and of the heretics was that he fell into a state of scepticism with regard to religion and philosophy. At length the strain was so great that in A.H. 488 he left Baghdád seeking for peace of mind, which came to him at last. It has been well said that this flight of al-Ghazálí marked the greatest epoch in the church of Islám after the return of al-Ash'arí to orthodox views. 'It meant that the reign of mere scholasticism was over; that another element was to work openly in the future church of Islám, the element of the mystical life in God, of the attainment of truth by the soul in direct vision.'² From this state of doubt and despair he emerged into Šúfiism, in which his restless spirit found satisfaction and won for it a recognized place in Islám. He taught, moreover, that the true Šúfí must have for his belief a historical basis and for his knowledge of God's will an objective revelation. On Šúfiism, however, he exercised a very notable influence. His great work, called the *Ihyá' 'ulúmu'd-dín*, or *Revivification of the Religious Sciences*, codifies the theology and the morality of the mystics; but the scepticism which he still retained as regards philosophy rendered him a very formidable opponent to those who were trying to bring Islám into accord with philosophic theories. His works, *Tendency of Philosophers* and *Destruction of the Philosophers*, had an immense

¹ He was possessed of an enquiring mind. For a range of his studies, see his own statement, quoted in Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, p. 422.

² Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 226.

influence. In the preface to the latter book he speaks of 'those who arrogate to themselves a superior intelligence, and who, in their pride, mistaking the precepts of religion, take as a guide the authority of certain great men, instead of revealed religion.' 'Al-Ghazálí's fundamental position is that the ultimate source of all knowledge is revelation from God. It may be major revelation, through accredited prophets who come forward as teachers, divinely sent and supported by miracles and by the evident truth of their message appealing to the human heart, or it may be minor revelation—subsidiary and explanatory—through the vast body of saints of different grades, to whom God has granted immediate knowledge of Himself. Where the saints leave off, the prophets begin; and, apart from such teaching man, even in physical science, would be groping in the dark.'¹ It is, however, and with some show of reason, supposed that Ghazálí did not really object to all that he condemned, but that to gain the orthodox he wrote what he did. Indeed, Moses of Narbonne states that Ghazálí later on in life wrote a book, circulated only amongst a few select friends, in which he withdrew many of the objections he had raised in the *Destruction of Philosophers*. Be that as it may, it is acknowledged that he dealt a blow to philosophy from which in the East it never recovered; that is, as far as the Muslim world is concerned. He did not reject any essential dogma of Islám, but he freed it from the dead weight of the scholastic theologians. During his period of doubt, it was not the doctrines, as such, that he doubted, but whether human reason could know anything with certainty. His course marks a reaction of the exclusively religious principle of Islám against philosophical speculation, which, in spite of all accommodation, never made itself orthodox.²

In Spain philosophy still found an ardent defender in Ibn Rushd, better known as Averhoes. This celebrated man was born at Cordova in the year A.D. 1126, or about 520 of the

¹ Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 236.

² For a good account of al-Ghazálí's life and work, see Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 215-40, 300-7, and for an account of his conversion, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islám*, pp. 175-180. A very excellent account is also given in *al-Ghazálí* (C.I.S.).

Muḥammadan era 'Without dispute he was one of the most learned men of the Muslim world, and one of the profoundest commentators of Aristotle. He knew all the sciences then accessible to the Muslims, and was a most prolific writer.'¹ He had a great reverence for Aristotle, and considered him to be the man among all men whom God permitted to reach the highest summit of perfection, and looked upon him as the founder and perfecter of scientific knowledge. He has been called the last of the great Aristotelians. One of his most famous works was the *Refutation of the Destruction of Philosophers*. Notwithstanding his philosophical opinions Averhøes claimed to pass for a good Muslim. He held that the philosophic truths are the highest object of research, but that only a few men could by speculation arrive at them, and that, therefore, a divine revelation through the medium of prophets was necessary for spreading amongst men the eternal verities which are proclaimed alike by philosophy and religion. 'He said that a positive religion was required to meet the religious needs of the multitude, but the philosopher might reach and maintain the truth independently of any revealed religion.'² He also held, it is true, that the orthodox had paid too much attention to the letter, and too little to the spirit, and that false interpretations had educated principles not really to be found in religion. This profession and a rigid adherence to outward forms of worship, however, did not save him from suspicion. He was accused of preaching philosophy and the ancient sciences to the detriment of religion. He was deprived of his honours and banished by the *Khalifa* al-Manṣūr to Lucena, near Cordova. In his disgrace he had to suffer many insults from the orthodox. One day on entering the mosque with his son he was forcibly expelled by the people. He then took refuge in Africa and his property was confiscated. He died in Morocco in A.D. 1198 A.H. 595. Thus passed away in disgrace the last of the Muslim philosophers worthy of the name.³

¹ *Munk, Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 429.

² Kurtz, *Church History*, ii. 101.

³ 'After him, we find no single philosopher among the Arabs worthy of the name' (*Munk, Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 458) For an account of his system, see Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 256.

In Spain a strict prohibition was issued against the study of Greek philosophy, and many valuable works were committed to the flames. Soon after this the rule of the Moors in Spain began to decline. The study of philosophy came to an end, and liberal culture sank under the pressure of the hard and fast dogmatic system of Islám.¹ In Spain, as in Baghdád, orthodoxy gained the day. Here are the words of a thoughtful Musalmán: 'It must always be borne in mind that, in spite of the enormous progress made by Muḥammadans in the early centuries of their power, learning has never been popular among them as a nation, and science only flourished when there happened to be a man willing to protect it.'² There was much of doubtful value in the speculations of the Muslim philosophers, but they were Muslims, and if they went too far in their efforts to rationalize Islám, they also tried to cast off what to them seemed accretions added on by the Traditionalists and the Canonical Legists. They failed because, like the earlier scholastics, they had no gospel to proclaim to men, no tidings to give of a new life which could enable wearied humanity to bear the ills to which it was subject. Another strong reason was that the orthodoxy against which they strove was a logical development of the foundations of Islám, and these foundations were too strongly laid for any power other than a spiritual one to uproot. They

¹ 'With no class of fanatics did intolerance exist in greater intensity than among the orthodox masses in Muḥammadan Spain Narrow views so prejudicial to mental development were diligently fostered by the doctors of the law. As a result the philosopher was an object of aversion to the conscientious Muḥammadan.' Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, iii. 5.

Muslim rule in Spain is often referred to as an instance of the height of culture and the liberality of sentiment which may exist in a Muḥammadan State. I have shown that the culture was not due to the teaching of the Arab Prophet and his Companions, and with regard to the liberality it is well to remember the words of G. H. Lewes. He says. 'The Arabs, though they conquered Spain, were too weak in numbers to hold that country in subjection otherwise than by politic concessions to the opinion and customs of the people.' *History of Philosophy*, i. 36.

² Nawáb Muḥsinu'l-Mulk, *Causes of the Decline of the Muḥammadan Nation*, p. 65.

were men of good position in life, voluminous writers, profound admirers of Aristotle, and more or less devoted to science, especially to medicine. Yet they did not advance philosophy, and science they left much as they found it. They preserved something of what Grecian thought had achieved, and so far their labour is not lost. 'Muslim philosophy has always continued to be an eclecticism which depended on their stock of works translated from the Greek. The course of its history has been a process of assimilation rather than of generation.'¹

Thus Islám has, as a religion, no right to claim any of the glory which Muslim philosophers are supposed to have shed around it. The founders of Islám, the Arabs, produced but one philosopher of note.² The first impetus to the study was given by heretical *Khalífas* employing Christians at Baghdád to translate Greek books; whilst in Spain, where philosophy most flourished, it was due largely to the contact of intelligent Muslims with learned Jews. Even there, the philosophers

¹ Dr. T. J. De Boer, *History of Philosophy in Islám*, p. 29.

² 'There never was any Arabian science, strictly speaking. In the first place, all the philosophy and science of the Muḥammadans was Greek, Jewish, and Persian. . . . It really designates a reaction against Islámism, which arose in the distant parts of the empire, in Samarcand, Bukhára, Morocco, and Cordova. The Arabian language having become the language of the empire, this philosophy was written in that language; but the ideas are not Arabian; the spirit is not Arabian' (Lewes, *History of Philosophy*, ii. 34). 'The Caliphs had the wisdom to give full scope to the talents of the conquered, when once they accepted Islámism; and thus, while the Arabs originated so little themselves, they raised a great civilization, that was brilliant for a time, though it was so barren in its after results' (Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, p. 116.) 'Islám owes much to the clients (aḥláf, or converts under Arab protection) since the greater number of Huffáz, or persons who knew the Qur'án by heart, commentators, lexicographers, poets and scholars were of their number, for the Arabs were distracted from such pursuits by politics and political rivalries' (Zaydan, *Umayyads and 'Abbsids*, p. 53). 'Take from what is generally called Arabian science—from exegesis tradition, theology, philosophy, medicine, lexicography, history, biography, even Arabic grammar—the work contributed by Persians and the best part is gone. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, i. 204.

were, as a rule, the objects of bitter persecution.¹ In his inaugural lecture on assuming the chair of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac Professorship in the College of France, the late M. Ernest Renan said: 'Arabian science and Arabian philosophy are often alluded to, and, in fact, during one or two centuries in the Middle Ages the Arabs were our teachers: but it was only until we were acquainted with the Greek originals. This Arabian science and philosophy was only a puerile rendering of Greek science and philosophy. When closely examined, moreover, this Arabian science has nothing Arabian in it. Its foundation is purely Greek: amongst its originators there is not a single true Shemite; they were all Spaniards and Persians who wrote in Arabic.' Theology and philosophy became blended in the hands of the Moors, but the Greek scientific theory as to the origin of things was interwoven with the Hebrew faith in a Creator, and so speculation became theistic, long before the time of the Arab philosophy. These matters were all discussed in Alexandria three centuries before the time of Muḥammad. So the question still remains—does Islām naturally lead the mind to high intellectual pursuits? As a matter of fact, it shows most affinity to uncivilized races. It has been well said: 'It has not taken captive any race possessing a great literature, nor has it given birth to any work of which the world demands a translation; and precisely as individuals have shown themselves possessed of speculative genius have they departed from the rigid orthodoxy of the Qur'ān.'

Now and again a liberal-minded Khalīfa arose, but Islām survives the liberal tendencies of a generation. From the close of the twelfth century (A.D.) downwards it would be difficult to point to any Muslim philosopher, much more to an Arab one, whose work is of any real value to the human race.² For four hundred years the contest raged, a contest

¹ 'Even at Cordova, the Professor of learning had to undergo religious persecution.' Nawāb Muḥsinu'l-Mulk *Causes of the Decline of the Muḥammadan Nation*, p. 69.

² 'The Arabic Aristotelianism has perished utterly from the Muslim lands' (Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 286). 'During the last seven centuries no original idea has made its appearance in poetry in its artistic sense.' *The Encyclopædia of Islām*, p. 406.

such as Islám has never since seen. This great effort to bring it into accordance with the main stream of human thought, to introduce into it some element of progress, utterly failed.¹ The lesson is plain. Any project of reform in Islám which admits its fundamental principles must fail. Revolution, not reform, is the only hope for the permanence of an independent Muslim State when it enters into the circle of civilized nations.

¹ 'There was a curious want of vitality in the Arab civilization, when the period of conquest had come to an end As we look back, we can see that the Arabian society was lacking in the physical and spiritual qualities which would have fitted it to take a great part in contributing to the progress of the race ; it did collect and disseminate the elements of well-being that remained from the old world, but it did not carry them farther, or found anything that was really new Islám, with all its enthusiasm and all its faculty for adopting alien elements, failed to supply a firm basis for social life, or to give inspiration for human progress.' Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, pp. 117, 119.

CHAPTER V

THE PRACTICAL DUTIES OF ISLÁM

THE practical duties of Islám, the Arkánu'd-Dín, or pillars of religion, are five in number.¹ They are (1) Tashahhud, the recital of the Kalima ; (2) Šalát, the five stated daily prayers ; (3) Roza, fasting, especially in the month of Ramaḍán ; (4) Zakát, the legal alms ; (5) Hājj, the pilgrimage to Mecca. These are all farḍ duties,² being based on a naṣṣu'z-ẓāhir, or clear sentence of the Qur'án, a proof deduced from which is called dalílu'l-qaṭa'í, or strong proof.³

¹ As regards the influence of these duties in the strengthening of Islám, see Professor Crawford's remark in *The International Review of Missions*, October 1912, pp. 602-6.

² Farḍ (فرض) denotes an obligatory duty, based on an order in the Qur'án or the Ḥadīth ; farḍu'l-'ain (فرض العين) is such a duty incumbent on every believer, farḍu'l-kifāyah (فرض الكفاية) is a duty not incumbent on each Muslim ; it may be done by some one or more on behalf of the whole community.

³ There is a Tradition to the following effect : " Gabriel came in the form of an Arab of the desert and sat down so that his knees touched the knees of the Prophet and said : " O Apostle of God, what is Islám." He said, " That thou shouldest bear witness that there is no god save God and that I am the Apostle of God ; that thou shouldest perform the prayers (ṣalāt) and bring the alms (zakát) and fast in the month of Ramaḍán and make pilgrimage to the House (Ka'ba) if the way is possible for thee." He said : " Thou hast spoken truly." Then he said : " What is faith (imán) ? " The Prophet said : " That thou shouldest believe in God and His angels and His book and His messengers and in the Last Day, and that thou shouldest believe in the decreeing (qadar) both of good and evil." He said : " Thou hast spoken truly." Then he said : " What is right doing (iḥsán) ? " The Prophet said : " That thou shouldest serve God as though thou sawest Him, for though thou seest Him not, He sees thee." He said : " Thou hast spoken truly." Then he said : " When

Other religious duties which good Muslims should perform are the seven duties which are wājib, or duties based on the more obscure texts of the Qur'ān, called khafī, or hidden sentences, a proof derived from which is called dalīlū'z-zānnī.¹ These duties are (1) to make the 'Umra, called the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca, in addition to the Ḥajj; (2) obedience to parents; (3) the obedience of a wife to her husband; (4) the giving of alms after a fast; (5) the offering of sacrifice; (6) the saying of ṣalātu'l-witr, a term which will be explained later on; (7) the support of relatives. The duties numbered as (4) and (5) are wājib orders to the rich, but only mustahabb to the poor: that is, it is meritorious if they perform them, but not sinful if they leave them undone.

Duties next in order as regards authority are the Sunna ones. They are three in number, and are based either on the practice of the Prophet, or are fiṭrat, that is, practices of previous prophets, the continuance of which Muḥammad did not forbid. They are (1) circumcision; (2) shaving off the hair from the head and the body; (3) the paring of the nails. Other actions are mustahabb, or praiseworthy. They are those which Muḥammad sometimes did and sometimes omitted. There is a still lower class of action which are mubāḥ. These are

shall be the Last Day? " The Prophet said: " The questioned knoweth not more of that than the questioner." Then he arose and went out. And the Prophet said: " That was Gabriel; he came to teach you your religion (din)." ' Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, p. 27.

¹ Some authorities make farḍ and wājib duties synonymous, but they are generally considered to be distinct.

works of supererogation. If omitted there is no fear of punishment.

Unlawful actions and things are (1) ḥaram, actions and food forbidden either in the Qur'án or the Traditions; (2) makrúh, actions the unlawfulness of which is not absolutely certain, but which are generally considered wrong; (3) mufsid, actions corrupting or pernicious; (4) qabíh, or something forbidden.

1. TASHAHHUD.—This is the recital of a confession of faith, such as, 'I testify that there is no god but God; I testify to His unity and that He has no partner; I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger.' A shorter one is, 'There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the apostle of God.' This latter confession embodies the very spirit of Islám; it is the rallying-cry for its armies; it sounds forth each morning from thousands of minarets in many lands; it has been and is said with fervour, pride, and exultation by many millions of the human race. The power of Islám, its proclamation of the Unity, is here seen in closest contact with what is to Muslim theologians the equally fundamental truth, the apostleship of Muḥammad.

2. ṢALÁT OR NAMÁZ.—The necessary legal purifications which precede ṣalát are of three kinds: (1) waḍú', the lesser lustration; (2) ghusl, the greater lustration; (3) tayammum, or purification by sand.

(1) Waḍú' is an ablution made before saying the appointed prayers.¹ The rules which are 'farḍ' are

¹ It is also wájib before touching the Qur'án, and before making the procession round the Ka'ba at the Ḥajj; and a sunna custom before going to sleep.

four in number, namely, To wash (1) the face from the top of the forehead to the chin, and as far as each ear ; and (2) the hands and arms up to the elbow ; (3) to rub (masaḥ) with the wet hand a fourth part of the head ; also (4) the feet to the ankles. 'The authority for these actions is the text, ' O believers! when ye address yourselves to prayer, wash your hands up to the elbow, and wipe your heads, and your feet to the ankles ' (v. 8). The Sunnis wash the feet: the Shí'ahs are apparently more correct, for they only wipe, or rather rub (masaḥ) them. Against the practice of the Shí'ahs the following Tradition is quoted : ' Abdu'lláh bin 'Amrú said: " The Prophet was behind me in a journey, then he came up with us. We were late for the ṣalátu'l-'aṣr. We quickly made the waḍú', and rubbed (namsaḥ) our feet. Then the Prophet called out with a loud voice, Alas ! for the heels in fire (of hell)." ' In these ablutions, if any portion of the specified part is left untouched, the whole act becomes useless and the prayer which follows is vain.

The act of making waḍú', however, has not been allowed to remain in this simple form. The Sunna regulations regarding it are fourteen in number. They are (1) to make the intention of waḍú', thus: I make this waḍú' for the purpose of putting away impurity ; (2) to wash the hand up to the wrist, but care must be taken not to put the hands entirely into the water, until each has been rubbed three times with water poured on it; (3) to say one of the names of God at the commencement of the waḍú', thus :¹

¹ There are Traditions to the effect that ' the whole body of him who says the name of God when making waḍú' will be clean ; whereas, if he says it not, only the part washed will be pure.' ' He who performs

'In the name of the Great God,' or 'Thanks be to God for the religion of Islám;' (4) to clean the teeth; (5) to rinse the mouth three times;¹ (6) to put water into the nostrils three times; (7) to do all the above in proper order; (8) to do all without any delay between the various acts; (9) each part is to be purified three times. Bukhárí says: 'Wadú' once is farḍ, it may be done twice or thrice, but not more than three times: wise men dislike waste and the doing more than the Prophet did.' This establishes the sunna practice of making wadú' three times; (10) the space between the fingers of one hand must be rubbed with the wet fingers of the other; (11) the beard must be combed with the fingers; (12) the whole head must be rubbed once; (13) the ears must be washed with the water remaining on the fingers after the last operation; (14) to rub under and between the toes with the little finger of the left hand, drawing it from the little toe of the right foot and between each toe in succession. Imám Sháfi'í, holds that (1) and (7) are farḍ duties and that (12) should be done three times. Imám Málík considers (8) to be farḍ.

The lesser sins are forgiven after wadú'. The Prophet said: 'He who makes wadú' according to my wadú' (i.e., three times), and then makes two rak'ats, without being defiled between: all his

the wadú' in proper manner will extract all sin from his body, even it may be lurking under his finger nails.' *Mishkátu'l-Maṣḍibih* iii 1, quoted by Hughes, *Dictionary of Islám*, p. 4

¹ When wadú' is made on a fast day and the water passes into the throat, the fast is broken and must be kept on another occasion. See *Faiḍu'l-Bdri*, vii, 216

former sins will be forgiven.' ¹ The greater sins are only pardoned after repentance. The actions connected with waḍú' may be done in silence, or a prayer may be repeated.² Such a recital is a mustaḥabb, not a sunna or farḍ order.

(2) Ghusl is an ablution of the whole body after certain legal defilements, and should be made as follows. The person should put on clean clothes and perform the waḍú'; then he should say: 'I make ghusl to put away impurity.' All being ready, he should wash himself in the following order. He must pour water over the right shoulder three times, then over the left three times, and, lastly, on his head also the same number of times. The three farḍ conditions are that (1) the mouth must be rinsed, (2) water be put into the nostrils, and (3)

¹ *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitābu'l-waḍú' Baiqlāwī commenting on Sura v. 9 says 'فان الوضوء تكفير للذنوب'—Certainly the waḍú' is an atonement for sins.'

² Before commencing the waḍú' say: 'I am going to purify myself from all bodily uncleanness preparatory to commencing prayer, that holy act of duty, which will draw my soul near to the throne of the Most High. In the name of God, the Great and Mighty. Praise be to God who has given us grace to be Muslims. Islām is a truth and infidelity a falsehood.'

When cleaning the teeth, say: 'Vouchsafe, O God, as I clean my teeth, to purify me from my faults and accept my homage. O Lord, may the purity of my teeth be for me a pledge of the whiteness of my face at the day of judgment.'

When washing the nostrils, say 'O my God, if I am pleasing in Thy sight, perfume me with the odours of Paradise.'

When washing the right hand, say: 'O my God, on the day of judgment place the book of my actions in my right hand, and examine my account with favour.'

When washing the left hand, say: 'O my God, place not at the resurrection the book of my action in my left hand.' Similar prayers are said at each act. Garcin de Tassy, *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran*, p. 211. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, p. 3.

the whole body be washed. If one hair even is left dry the whole act is rendered vain and useless. All other particulars are sunna or mustahabb.

There are several physical causes¹ which vitiate a purification, and for these ghusl is required. The Traditions have raised the most trivial ceremonial observances into duties of the greatest importance. There are, however, spiritually-minded men in Islām. Al-Ghazālī says: 'Prayers are of three kinds: prayers pronounced with the tongue only; prayers undistracted by evil thoughts; prayers offered with such fervour that the mind can hardly be recalled from thoughts of God. But the marrow of prayer is when the object of prayer possesses the heart, and prayer is effaced and ceases, and the sayer of prayer attends no more to prayer nor to his own heart. Even if the thought of his own self-abasement should occur, it is a defect.'

Still a system of religion which declares that the virtue of prayer depends practically on an ablution, and that that ablution is useless unless done in the order prescribed, is one well calculated to make men formalists and nothing more. None but those who have studied Muslim treatises on the subject can conceive of the puerile discussions which have taken place on points apparently trivial, but which from their connexion with the Sunna are deemed by learned Muslims of great importance.

(3) Tayammum, or purification by sand, is allowable under the following circumstances. (1) When the water cannot be procured except at a

¹ For a full statement of these based on Muslim authorities, see Klein, *Religion of Islām*, pp. 121-32.

distance of one kos (about two miles); (2) in case of sickness, when the use of water might be injurious; (3) when water cannot be obtained without incurring danger from an enemy, a beast, or a reptile; and (4) when on the occasion of the namáz of a feast-day or the namáz at a funeral, the worshipper is late and has no time to perform the wađú'. On ordinary days this substitution of tayammum for wađú' is not allowable.

The ceremony is performed as follows. 'The person says: 'I make tayammum to put away impurity;' then, 'I seek refuge near God from cursed Satan. I commence in the name of God, most Merciful and most High, whose praises are in the religion of Islám.' He then strikes the sand with open hands, rubs his mouth, and at last the arms to the elbows. Not one hair must be left untouched or the whole ceremony is useless. The fard acts are to make the intention of tayammum, to rub the mouth and the hands. 'If ye are sick or on a journey, or if one of you come from the place of retirement, or if ye have touched women, and ye find no water, then take clean sand and rub your faces and your hands with it' (v. 9). According to a statement made by 'Áyisha, and recorded by Bukhári, the origin of this verse was as follows: 'One day when 'Áyisha was travelling with the Prophet in a desert place, she lost her necklace. The Prophet and those who were with him stayed to search for it, and so the night passed. There was no water in that place, and in the morning, when the Prophet began to prepare for his devotions, the verse came to him.'

The ṣalāt or namāz can be said either in private or in public. The clothes and person of the worshipper must be clean, the place free from all impurity, and the face turned towards Mecca. The namāz must always be preceded by waḍú', except when tayammum is allowed. If the namāz is said

² *Faidu'l-Bāri*, ii. 147.

³ From the account which follows it will be seen that the term *ṣalāt*, or *namáz*, expresses what we term a religious service. The word for prayer in the ordinary sense is *du'á*.

in a mosque, which is considered to be more meritorious than repeating it in private, it must be preceded by the ádhán, or call to prayers, and the iqámat. It may be said in a church provided there are no pictures in it.¹ Minute particulars regarding the exact attitude in which the Muṣallí, one who says the ṣalát, must stand and the words he is to say them are fully given in Muslim books.² The following account will give some idea of a namáz or service.³

The Mu'adhḥin ' calls out loudly in Arabic the takbír:—

Álláhu Akbar ! Alláhu Akbar ! Alláhu Akbar ! Alláhu Akbar ! (God is great !)

All who hear it respond :—

Alláhu Akbar ! Alláhu Akbar ! Alláhu Akbar ! Alláhu Akbar !

The Mu'adhḥin says:—

I confess there is no god but God ; I confess there is no god but God.

¹ *Faiḍu'l-Bári*, Part ii 141.

² For the omissions or mistakes, especially of the farḍ duties and ceremonies, which makes the ṣalát invalid, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, pp. 140-1.

³ It is taken from the *Sirāṭu'n-Naját*, pp. 30-3.

⁴ As the use of bells is unlawful a man is employed to call the people to prayers. When the Musalmáns were first gathered together for prayer at Madína, there was no one to call them, so they talked about this one day, and, some said : ' Get a bell like those of the Christians ; ' others, ' Get a trumpet like those of the Jews.' 'Umar then said : ' What ! is there not a man among you who can call to prayers ? ' The Prophet then said : ' O Billál ! stand and make the call to prayer ' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitábu'l-Adhán.

⁵ 'The auditor should repeat what he hears.' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, Kitábu'l-Ádhán.

Each of his auditors replies:—

I confess there is no god but God ; I confess there is no god but God.

The Mu'adhhdhin says:—

I confess Muḥammad is the apostle of God.

The Auditor responds:—

I confess Muḥammad is the apostle of God.

The Mu'adhhdhin says:—

Come to prayer.¹

The Auditor responds :

I have no power or strength but from God most High and Great.

The Mu'adhhdhin says:—

Come to do good.

The Auditor responds:—

What God wills will be ; what He wills not will not be.

If it is the time of morning prayer, the Mu'adhhdhin adds the words:—

Prayer is better than sleep.

To which the response is given:—

Thou hast spoken well.

The adhán ends with the two-fold repetition of:—

Alláhu Akbar. There is no god but God.

¹ In wet weather the Mu'adhhdhin, instead of saying, 'Come to prayer,' shouts, 'Say the ṣalát in your houses *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 184.

Hishámí, a Tábí', says that he heard from Yahya that some Muslims stated their practice thus: When the Mu'adhhdhin said 'Come to prayer,' we replied, 'There is no power nor strength but from God,' and added, 'We heard our Prophet say like this.' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 162.

Whether a Muslim obeys the call to prayer or not it is a satisfaction to him to know that a fundamental practice of Islám is thus honoured by its public proclamation.

The iqāmat, literally causing to stand, is a repetition of the ādhān, but after the words, 'Come to do good,' the statement 'Prayer has commenced' is made.

These preliminaries being now over, the namáz can commence. It is as follows:—

The Muṣallí or worshipper stands with his hands close to his side and says in a low voice the niyyat (intention):—

I have purposed to offer up to God only, with a sincere heart this morning (or, as the case may be) with my face Qibla-wards, two (or, as the case may be) rak'at prayers, farḍ, or sunna or nafl, (as the case may be).

Then follows the takbīru't-taḥrīmat,¹ said with the thumbs touching the lobes of the ears. The palms of the hands are placed towards the Qibla. The fingers are slightly separated from each other. In this position the Muṣallí says 'Allāhu Akbar!'

In the qiyām, or standing position, the palm of the right hand is placed on the back of the left, and the thumb and little finger of the former seize the wrist of the latter. Both hands are then placed below the navel,² the eyes are directed towards the spot where the head of the worshipper will touch the ground in prostration, and the thaná is said. It is:—

Holiness to Thee, O God! and praise be to Thee! Great is Thy name! Great is Thy greatness!

There is no god but thee!

¹ According to some authorities, this and the other takbīrs of the namáz are authorized by the third verse of Súra lxxiv: 'Thy Lord—magnify Him' (wa rubbaka fakabbir).

² The followers of Imám as-Sháfi'í and the women of all sects place the hands upon the breast. The feet should be about four inches apart; women stand with the feet close together.

The ta'awwudh is then said:—

I seek refuge near God from cursed Satan.

Then follows the tasmíya:—

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Then follows the fátiḥa,¹ or first chapter of the Qur'án:—

Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds! the Compassionate, the Merciful! King on the day of reckoning! Thee only do we worship, and to Thee do we cry for help. Guide Thou us on the straight path: the path of those to whom Thou hast been gracious: with whom Thou art not angry, and who go not astray.

After this the worshipper can repeat as many chapters of the Qur'án as he likes. Some verses he must repeat. The Súratu'l-Ikhláš (cxii) is generally said:²—

Say: He is God alone: God the Eternal, He begetteth not, and is not begotten; and there is none like unto Him.

The takbíru'r-rukú'—Alláhu Akbar!—is said whilst the Muṣallí makes an inclination of the head and body and, separating the fingers a little, places his hands upon his knees.

The tasbíhu'r-rukú' is said in the same position. It is:—

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Great!

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Great!

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Great!

¹ The second rak'at begins here: all that precedes is only repeated at the first rak'at.

² One day the Prophet said to his Companions, 'What! have you not the power to read one-third of the Qur'án in one night?' They replied, 'It is very difficult to do so.' His Excellency then said: 'Very well, read the Súratu'l-Ikhláš; the reward for so doing is equal to that for reading one-third of the Qur'án.' It is for this reason that it is generally recited in the ṣalátu't-tahajjud. *Dawḥiṭu'l-Furqán*, p. 6.

The tasmiya is then said with the body erect, but with the hands placed on either side. Thus:—

God hears him who praises Him: O Lord, Thou art praised.¹

The takbiru's-sijda—Alláhu Akbar!—is then said as the Muṣallí, or worshipper, drops on his knees. He then places his hands, with the fingers close to each other, upon the ground. He must rest upon his toes in such a way that they point to the Qibla, not on the side of the feet, which must be kept straight behind him. The elbow must not touch the side, nor the stomach the thigh, nor the thigh the calf of the leg. The eyes must be kept bent downwards. Then he touches the ground first with his nose, and then with his forehead, taking care that the thumbs just touch the lobe of the ears.² All this being carefully attended to, the Muṣallí can say the tasbíhú's-sijda thus:—

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High !

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High !

I extol the holiness of my Lord, the Most High !

He then raises his head and body, sinks backwards upon his heels, places his hands a little above his knees, and whilst doing this says the takbíru'l-jalsa³—Alláhu Akbar!

After a slight pause, a second prostration or sijda is made, and the takbíru's-sijda and the tasbíhu's-sijda are repeated as before. Then, when in the

¹ In a mosque the Imám says the first sentence alone ; the people the second.

² Women in the sijda keep all the limbs of the body close together. If their face is Qibla-wards it is sufficient.

³ Here the Shí'ahs says : ' I rise and sit by the power of God.

act of rising up, the Muṣallí says the takbírul-qiyám—Allahu Akbar!'

This concludes one rak'at. The second rak'at begins with the fátiḥa, so that after saying the takbírul-qiyám a Muṣallí would have to begin again at that place and repeat all that he had just finished; the only change being that after the fátiḥa he recites different verses of the Qur'án to those he said in the first rak'at. After two rak'ats have been said, and after the last, though it be an odd number, the Muṣallí, unless he is a Shí'ah, places his left foot under him and sits upon it. He then places his hands above his knees, as for the takbírul-jalsa, and with his eyes directed towards his lap says the attahíyát:—

The adorations of the tongue are for God, and also the adorations of the body, and almsgiving! Peace be on thee, O Prophet! with the mercy of God and His blessing. Peace be on us and upon God's righteous servants!

Then raising the first finger of the right hand he says the tashahhud,² which is as follows:—

I testify that there is no god but God; and I testify that Muḥammad is the servant of God and the messenger of God.

Then at the end of all the rak'ats the Muṣallí, whilst in the same posture, says the durúd, which is:—

O God! have mercy on Muḥammad and his descendants,³ as Thou didst have mercy on Abraham and his descendants.

¹ It is a grievous sin for the worshippers to raise up their heads before the Imám rises up, a fact made known to them by his repeating the takbírul-jalsa. Thus, on the authority of Abú Huraira, one of the Companions, we have this Tradition 'The Prophet said "What! does no one of you fear when he lifts up his head before the Imám does? God will make his head then like that of a donkey."' *Ṣaḥīḥul-Bukhārī*, Kitábu'l-Adhán.

² This is said at the close of every two rak'ats.

³ The Shí'ahs stop here and omit the rest.

Thou art to be praised and Thou art great. (O God! bless Muḥammad and his descendants, as Thou didst bless Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and Thou art great.

Then comes the du'á, which may be in the worshipper's own words, though he usually says:¹—

O God our Lord, give us the blessings of this life, and also the blessings of life everlasting. Save us from the torments of hell.

Then turning the head to the right the Muṣallí repeats the salám:—

The peace and mercy of God be with you.

Then turning the head to the left he says:—

The peace and mercy of God be with you.

At the close of the whole ceremony the worshipper raises his hands as high as his shoulders, with the palms towards heaven or towards his own face, and offers up a munáját, or supplication, either in Arabic or in his own language. The hands are then drawn over the face, as if to convey the blessing received from above to every part of the body. As the ṣalát must be said in Arabic, a foreign language to large communities of Muslims, and said without change or variety and with the strictest attention to the prescribed ritual, the act is very apt to become mechanical.²

¹ The Shi'ahs omit the du'á and say: 'Peace be on thee, O Prophet, with the mercy of God and His blessing Peace be on us and on God's righteous servants.'

² An Eastern traveller says: 'The ceremonial character of the religion of Muḥammad is, in spite of its simplicity, carried to a pitch beyond the utmost demands of Rome or Russia. . . Prayer is reduced to a mechanical act, as distinct from a mental one, far beyond any ritual observances in the West.' Dean Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 279.

The appointed periods of prayer are five¹ in number, in proof of which the following text is quoted: 'Glorify God when ye reach the evening (masá'), and when ye rise at morn (ṣubḥ); and to Him be praise in the heavens and in the earth—and at twilight ('ashí) and when ye rest at noon (ẓuhr)' (xxx. 17). The commentators say that masá' includes both sunset and the period after sunset, that is, both the ṣalātu'l-maghrib and the ṣalātu'l-'ishá'. Again, 'Celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the sunrise and before its setting, and in some hours of the night and in the extremes of the day' (xx. 130). Baiḍawí says that the 'hours of the night' are the ṣalātu'l-maghrib and the ṣalātu'l-'ishá', and that 'before the setting of the sun' includes ṣalātu'ẓ-ẓuhr and ṣalātu'l-'aṣr, and that the expression 'extremes of the day' is simply an emphatic way of urging the necessity of the morning prayer, ṣalātu'l-fajr, and of the evening prayer, ṣalātu'l-maghrib. Some commentators, however, say that the words 'extremes of the day' mean noon, when the day is

¹ 'The Zoroastrians had five stated times of prayer. The Šábians observed seven times of prayer daily, of which five correspond with those of Islám.' (Tisdall, *Religion of the Crescent*, p. 174.) The five prayers were appointed after Muḥammad's night journey to heaven. (Klein, *Religion of Islám*, p. 133.) Sir Syed Aḥmad Khán gives Traditions from Bukhárí and Muslim showing that in the Mi'ráj or night journey to heaven, the prayers were reduced to five. *Tafsíru'l-Qur'án*, vi. 40-1.

'Áyisha said that at first God commended the spending of the night in prayer and quoted the verse, 'Stand up all night, except a small portion of it for prayer' (lxxiii. 2). This the Apostle and the Companions did for a year, until their feet became swollen when the command came to lessen it. 'Recite then so much of the Qur'án as may be easy to you' (lxxiii. 20).

divided. In that case the prayer would be *ṣalātu'l-‘ishráq*, which is a *nafl* or voluntary *namaz*. There is also a reference to a stated period of prayer in the following verse: ‘Observe prayer at early morning, at the close of the day, and at the approach of night’ (xi. 116).

These daily *namáz* are *farḍ*, *sunna*, *witr*, and *nafl* prayers. *Farḍ* are those distinctly ordained by God, such as the five stated periods of prayer. *Sunna*, a certain number of *rak‘ats* which are added, because it is said the Prophet repeated them. *Witr* *rak‘ats* are an odd number of *rak‘ats* 3, 5, or 7, which may be said after the last prayer at night, and before the dawn of day. Usually they are added to the *ṣalātu'l-‘ishá’*. *Imám Abú Ḥanífa* says they are *wájib*, though they are not authorized by any text in the *Qur‘án*; but by Traditions, each of which is generally received as a *Ḥadīthu‘ş-Şaḥīḥ*, and so *witr rak‘at*s are also regarded as being of authority. *Imám Sháfi‘i*, however, considers them to be *sunna* only. The Traditions referred to are: ‘God has added to your *namáz* one *namáz* more: know that it is *witr*; say it between the *ṣalātu'l-‘ishá’* and dawn.’ *Bukhárí* says: ‘The Prophet said the *witr rak‘ats* before going to sleep.’ This fixes the time. He also said them before dawn. Thus ‘Áyisha said: ‘Every night the Prophet made one *witr namáz* and made his *witr* last till morning.’ On the authority of *Buzár*, a Traditionist, it is recorded that the Prophet said: ‘*Witr* is *wájib* upon Muslims,’ and in order to enforce the practice he added: ‘*Witr* is right; he who does not observe it is not my follower.’ The Prophet, the Companions,

Tábi'un, and the Tabá'u't-Tába'in all observed it. The word witr literally means 'odd number.' A Tradition says: 'God is odd; 'He loves the odd.' Musalmáns pay the greatest respect to an odd number.'

Nafl prayers are voluntary ones,² the performance of which is considered mustahabb or meritorious. Tabari and other historians say that the Khalifa Harúnu'r-Rashíd made one hundred nafl rak'ats every day.³ All these prayers are precisely the same in form. They simply consist in the repetition of a number of rak'ats, of which I have already given a single illustration in full. A Muslim who says the five daily prayers with the full number of rak'ats will repeat the service I have described fifty times in one day. If in addition to these he observes the three voluntary periods of prayers, he must add twenty-five more rak'ats, making a grand total of seventy-five. It is, however, usual to omit some of the sunna rak'ats; still there is a vast amount of repetition, and as the whole must be said in Arabic it becomes very mechanical. A Tradition states: 'He who, for the sake of faith and with a good intention, in Ramḍán makes these nafl or voluntary prayers, will receive all the pardon of his former sins.'⁴

A Muslim who ventured to say that a namáz might be recited in Hindustani was publicly excommunicated in the principal mosque at Madras on Friday, February 13, 1880.⁵

¹ It is considered unlucky to begin any work or to commence a journey on a day the date of which is an even number.

² See table on p. 374.

³ Ibn Khalidn, i. 32.

⁴ Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukḥārī, i. 4.

⁵ The fatwá, or decree, will be found in a note at the end of this chapter.

The table given below will make the matter quite clear. The optional sunna rak'ats are called 'sunnatu'l-ghairi'l-mu'akkada;' the sunna rak'ats before the farḍ ones are 'sunnatu'l-mu'akkada,' and should be said.

The five periods of prayer.	No.	TIME	THE NAMES OF THE TIME OF PRAYER			THE NUMBER OF RAK'ATS SAID				
			Arabic	Persian	Urdu	Sunnatu'l-Ghairi'l-mu'akkada	Sunnatu'l-mu'akkada	Fard	Sunna after Fard	Nafl ¹ Witr
	1	From dawn to sunrise.	Ṣalātu'l-Fajr.	Namáz-i-Ṣubḥ.	Fajr kí Namáz		2	2		
	2	When the sun has begun to decline.	Ṣalātu'l-Zuḥr	Namáz-i-Peshín.	Zuḥr kí Namáz		4	4	2	2
	3	Midway between No. 2 and 4.	Ṣalātu'l-'Aṣr.	Namáz-i-Dígar	Aṣr kí Namáz.	4		4		
	4	A few minutes after sunset.	Ṣalātu'l-Maghrib.	Namáz-i-Shám.	Maghríb kí Namáz.			3	2	2
	5	When the night has closed in.	Ṣalātu'l-'Ishá	Namáz-i-Khuftan.	'Ishá kí Namáz	4		4	2	2 7 ²

In addition to these there are several kinds of namáz for each day in the week, the observance of which brings remission of many sins and rich rewards, and other forms of namáz which have to be

¹ There are some nafl rak'ats besides these, such as the tahayyatu'l-masjid, two rak'ats for the honour of the mosque. They should be said on entering it, according to the Tradition, 'When any one of you enters a mosque, make two rak'ats before you sit down' (to say the regular prayers). *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukḥārī*, Kitábu's-Ṣalát.

² The Musallí may say five or three witr rak'ats instead of seven.

said at different times or under special circumstances.

(i) *Ṣalātu'l-Jum'a*,—The Friday namáz.—This is, a farḍ duty. It has the threefold authority of the Qur'án, the Sunna, and the Ijmá'. Thus: 'O ye who believe! when ye are summoned to prayer on the day of the assembly (Friday), haste ye to the commemoration of God and quit your traffic' (lxii. 9). The Prophet also said: 'Jum'a is farḍ,' and 'God will make a mark on the heart of him who misses the *Ṣalātu'l-Jum'a*.'¹ There is a Tradition which says: 'When Friday comes, angels stand at the door of the mosque and write the names of those who come first.'² There are, however, eight kind of persons on whom it is not incumbent, namely a traveller, a sick person, a slave, a woman, a young child, a mad person, a blind or a lame person. The conditions which make this namáz obligatory are: (1) That the place in which it is said is a town in which a Qaḍí dwells. (2) There must be in the town a ruler or his deputy. (3) It must take the place of the *ṣalātu'z-ẓuhr*, with which it agrees, except that two farḍ rak'ats instead of four are recited. The nafl rak'ats are omitted. The four sunna rak'ats which precede and the two which follow the farḍ ones are said. (4) One, or, according to the followers of Imám Sháfi'í, two *khuṭbas* or sermons are preached. These are delivered by the Imám after the four sunna rak'ats are recited, and before the two farḍ ones. The *khuṭba* should consist of the praise of God, prayer, and injunctions to piety. (5) There must

¹ *Núru'l-Hidýat*, p. 155.

² *Mishkátu'l-Maṣṣbiḥ*, chap. xiv

be a congregation of three persons besides the Imām. The Shāfi'is say that there should be at least forty worshippers. (6) The *ādhān*, or call to prayers, must be made to all without distinction of rank.¹

No.	TIME	THE NAMES OF THE TIME OF NAFL PRAYERS			THE NUMBER OF RAK'ATS SAID		
		Arabic	Persian	Urdu	Sunnatu'l-Ghauri- 'l-mu'akkada Sunnatu'l-mu'ak- kada Fard	Sunna after Fard	Nafil Witr
1	When the sun has well risen	Ṣalātu'l- 'Ishraq	Namāz i- 'Ishraq.	'Ishraq ki Namāz			8
2	About 11 o'clock a m	Ṣalātu'd- Duḥā	Namāz i- Chast.	Duḥā ki Namāz.			8
3	After midnight	Ṣalātu't- Tahajjud. ²	Namāz-i- Tahajjud.	Tahajjud ki Namāz.			9 ³

¹ The ceremonial of the mosque is plain and dignified; it encourages neither superstition nor excitement. On the other hand it is dry, narrow, and wanting in those elements of mystery, emotion and poetry which mark the worship of Christians in their nobler temples.' *Odysseus, Turkey in Europe*, p. 170.

² The Prophet one night said this namāz in his own room, but in such a position that he could be seen by those who passed by. For two or three nights people stopped and said prayers after him. After this, he retired to a hidden part of his room where he could not be seen, and so could not be made Imām of the namāz. He said that he so retired because he did not wish to make this ṣalāt a fard one. (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 184.) This is a very good illustration of the Sunnatu'l-Fil. This tahajjud namāz is said to be most advantageous. Abū Huraira relates how the Prophet said: 'Shaitān fastens three knots upon the back of each one of you who sleeps, and he beats the whole night with these knots and says "Sleep on;" but if the man awakes and remembers God, one knot is loosened; when he makes waḍū' another knot is untied; then he wakes in the morning happy and in good spirits; but if he does not do these things, he wakes up unhappy and in dull spirits.' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 289.

³ The Shāfi'is say that only one may be said, and support their view by the Tradition, 'A man said to the Prophet, "O Prophet of God! how is the tahajjud namāz to be said?" He replied, "Say two rak'ats, or if you fear that morning is near, say one witr rak'at."' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, p. 224.

Any person who is qualified to act as Imám at the other prayers can conduct this namáz. The Imám¹ (precentor) and Kháṭīb (preacher) is usually, but not necessarily, one and the same person. The khutbas should not be long, for Muḥammad said that long sermons and short prayers would be a sign of the degeneracy of the latter days. When two khutbas are said, the Imám sits down to rest before the delivery of the second. The worshippers may then offer up a dú'á, or private prayer. Some, however, say that this practice is bid'at (innovation,) and consider it a very bad act.

The preacher, standing on the second step of the mimbar² or pulpit, with a large club or staff in his hand, delivers his sermon.³ The following is a specimen:—

SERMON ON THE EXCELLENCE OF FRIDAY

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God, the King, the Holy, the Great, the Knower. He has opened our hearts through the blessing of Islám. He has made Friday the best of days. We testify that there is no god but God, the One without partner. This confession saves those who make it from danger and from darkness. We testify that our Lord Muhammad is His

¹ On the character of the Imám, see *Ante* p. 137. The Sunni view is supported by an-Nasafi thus: 'Prayer is allowable behind any one whether pure or a sinner; and we give the salutation of peace to the pure and to the sinner.' Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 14.

² The original mimbar at Madína had two steps. The Khálifa Mu'áwiya raised the height of the mimbar at Damascus by six steps. For details as to the dress of the preacher, see *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, x. 222.

³ In countries under Muslim rule he holds a wooden sword reversed. The position of standing is a sunna order, based on a Tradition by Ibn Umar, recorded by Bukhári. 'The Prophet delivered the khutba standing, then he sat down.'

servant and His Apostle sent to all mankind. May the mercy and peace of God be on him, his decendants, and on his Companions. O men! O believers of God! I advise you and my own soul thus: 'Obey God! Know, O servants of God! that when Friday commences the angels assemble in the fourth heaven, and Gabriel (on whom be peace) is Mu'adhhdhin, Miká'il the Khaṭīb, Isráfíl the Imám, and 'Izrá'íl the Mukabbir,¹ and all the angels join in the Namáz.'

When it is over Gabriel says: 'I give the reward due to me as Mu'adhhdhin to the Mu'adhhdhins of the sect of Islám;' Miká'il: 'I give mine to the Khaṭíbs;' Isráfíl: 'I give mine to the Imáms;' 'Izrá'íl: 'I give mine to the Mukabbirs.' The angels say: 'We give ours to the company of the Muslims.' The Prophet said: 'The night and day of Friday last twenty-four hours, and each hour God releases a thousand souls from hell. Whosoever makes the ghuṣl on Friday, God will give him for every hair on his body the reward of ten good deeds. Whosoever dies on a Friday meets with the reward of a martyr.'

Certainly the best and most eloquent speech is the Holy Qur'án, the Word of God,—the King, the Great, the Knower. His Word is true and righteous. When thou readest the Qur'án say: 'O God! protect me from cursed Satan.'

When ye are summoned to prayer on the day of the assembly, haste to the commemoration of God and quit your traffic. This, if ye knew it, will be best for you. And when the prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves abroad and go in quest of the bounties of God; and that it may be well with you, oft remember God. But when they get a sight of merchandise or sport, they disperse after it, and leave thee standing alone. Say: 'God hath in reserve what is better than sport or wares. God is the best provider' (lxii. 9-11). He is Almighty, Generous, Merciful, Eternal, Holy, Clement.

Here ends the first sermon: after a short pause the preacher commences the second.²

¹ One who says, Allahu. Akbar — God is Great.

² The first part is called the khuṭbatu'l-wa'z, the sermon of admonition: the second, the khuṭbatu'n-na't, the sermon of praise.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God, the Creator of the earth and heavens, the Maker of light and darkness. I testify that there is no god but God. He is one. He has no partner. Know, O believers! that this confession will save you from trouble and calamity. I testify that Muḥammad, who wipes out error and infidelity, is the servant and Apostle of God. The mercy of God be on our Lord Muḥammad, the Lord of Creation; and on his descendants, and on his Companions be grace and honour. O servants of God! I advise you and my own soul thus: 'Obey God! Fear God, who created life and death and who scrutinizes our good actions. O God! be pleased with Abú Bakr, the righteous, the Saḥibu'l-Ghár,¹ and with 'Umar ibnu'l-Khaṭṭáb, the chief of the holy men, and with 'Uthmán the possessor of two lights, who was martyred when reading the Holy Qur'án, and upon 'Alí Murtaḍa, the destroyer of infidels and sinners. O God! be pleased with the great Imáms Ḥasan and Husain. Be pleased with their mother Fatimahu'z-Zahrá, the chief of women, and with Ḥamza and 'Abbás, the uncles of the Prophet. Also be pleased with all the Aṣḥáb (Companions). O God! help those who help the religion of Muḥammad, and make us of their number. Make those wretched who corrupt it, and keep us aloof from all such. O believers! truly God orders you to do justice and to show kindness to your kindred. He orders you to abstain from infidelity and from the greater and the lesser sins. God warns you. God is the Most High, the Most Glorious. God is Great!'

The form in all khutbas, whatever may be their subject matter, is very similar. The exordium and the conclusion are practically the same. A few sentences in the middle refer to the special subject of the sermon. The second of the two sermons is always the same; it is practically an invocation of

¹ A reference to his presence with Muḥammad in the cave (ghár) when they fled from Mecca to Madína. See Súra ix. 40.

blessings on certain persons. Both are said in Arabic. What would answer to our idea of a sermon, such as an explanation of some doctrine, or an exposition of some passages in the Qur'án, is not part of the public worship in the mosque ; but is done in an ordinary assembly, in any convenient place, by a Mullá. or any learned man who can collect an audience.

The failure to attach the Jews to his side, and the attitude of the Christians made it difficult for Muḥammad to make Saturday or Sunday the Muslim sabbath. It is probable that Friday was a day of assembly among the pagan Arabs and Muḥammad so used it. Ordinary secular pursuits are prohibited only during the time of the namáz.

(ii) *Ṣalátu'l-Musáfir*.—Prayers said by a traveller. Should he stay in any one place less than fifteen days, he may say only two farḍ rak'ats and the three witr rak'ats at the *ṣalátu'l-‘ishá*.¹

(iii) *Ṣalátu'l-Khauf*.—Prayers of fear. When there is imminent danger from the approach of an enemy, the Imám should divide the army into two bodies ; one of which should be placed in a position towards the enemy : the other should recite, if they are on the march, one rak'at ; if stationary in a place, two rak'ats. This division will then march towards the enemy, and the first division will recite as many rak'ats as may be required to complete the

¹ Some persons once said to the *Khalífa* 'Umar : ' We find the prayer of fear and the prayer of residence written in the Qur'án, but not the prayer of the traveller.' 'Umar replied : ' God sent to us Muḥammad when we did not know anything about religion, we do what we saw him do' (*Kashf* i. 197, quoted by Klein, *Religion of Islám*. p. 143.) This is a good illustration of a sunna obligation.

namáz. The first division of troops will omit the fátiḥa and the other verses of the Qur'an recited after it, but the second division will supply the omission. If the enemy are so near that the cavalry dare not dismount, then each man will recite a rak'at or rak'ats for himself, and make the rukú' and sijda by means of signs. If he cannot turn towards the Qibla, he is, under such circumstances, allowed to face any direction most convenient. During the recital of the namáz he must not fight or allow his horse to move, lest the prayer should be rendered void. It is written in the Qur'an, 'When ye go forth to war in the land, it shall be no crime in you to cut short your prayers, if ye fear lest the infidels come upon you. . . . And when thou, O Apostle ! shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, then let a party of them rise up with thee, but let them take their arms ; and when they shall have made their prostrations, let them retire to your rear : then let another party that hath not prayed come forward, and let them pray with you ' (iv. 102, 103).

(iv) Ṣalātu't-Tarāwīḥ.¹—This is a special set of twenty rak'ats, of sunna obligation, recited every night during the month of Ramaḍān. They must be said after the farḍ and sunna, and before the witr rak'ats at the time of the ṣalātu'l-'ishā. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, a Traditionist, states that one night in Ramaḍān he went with the Khalífa 'Umar to the

¹ Also called prayer of pauses, because each worshipper rests awhile after each tarwīḥa prayer which consists of four rak'ats, the twenty rak'ats, or five tarwīḥa prayers, give the plural name tarāwīḥ to the whole prayer-service.

mosque. They saw some persons saying the namáz alone, and some reciting it in groups. 'Umar said,

If I gather them all together, so that they may recite it after one Imám, it will be good.' He did so, and the next night the people of their own accord came in great numbers and united together. Then said 'Umar, 'This bid'at is good.' This is good authority for the institution, for the Prophet said, 'Follow my sunna and that of the Khulafá'u'r-Ráshidún.' There is also a Hadíthu's-Şaḥiḥ to the effect that 'God has made the fast of Ramaḍán farḍ, and its qiyám¹ sunna.' The Prophet was anxious that the tiráwih namáz should not become farḍ, and therefore, after going to the mosque on three successive nights in Ramaḍán, he stayed away on the fourth, giving as his reason for so doing that he feared that, if he went every night, it might be considered a farḍ, and not a sunna duty. The number of rak'ats is fixed at twenty, that being the number recited by Muḥammad and by the Khalifa 'Umar. The Shí'ahs do not say these prayers, or even enter the mosque on such occasions, as after every four rak'ats an eulogium is repeated on the four Khalífas, the first three of whom they hate.

(v) Şalátu'l-Kusúf and Şalátu'l-Khusúf.—Prayer said when an eclipse of the sun or of the moon takes place. In the former case, the Imám recites with the congregation in the mosque two rak'ats. A Tradition recorded by Bukhári and related by 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Amrú states that 'in the time of the

¹ Qiyám is one of the positions in a namáz, and is here used by synecdoche for it. In Mecca the şalátu't-taráwih is called with reference to this Tradition the şalátu'l-qiyámiyya.

Prophet, when there was an eclipse of the sun, it was notified that certainly the namáz was to be said in the congregation.' In this şalát the ádhán and the iqámat are both omitted. No khutba is preached. After the rak'ats are completed those present remain in prayer (du'á) until the eclipse is at an end. The namáz during an eclipse of the moon is the same as that during an eclipse of the sun, with this exception, that the rak'ats need not be recited in a congregation. The practice is founded on the Prophet's saying, 'When you see an eclipse, then remember God; pray (du'a) and recite the namáz until it becomes light again.'

(vi) Şalátu'l-Istisqá'.—Prayer in time of drought. Each person should then, with face Qibla-wards, offer up prayer to God. This can be said at home and in private. Care must be taken that no Dhimmi¹ is present, for this is a prayer for a blessing; but God sends no blessing on a company in which a Dhimmi is present. These prayers are simple du'á and not a şalát. This is a very good example of the use of the term şalát as a mushtarak word, i.e. one which has several significations. Its ordinary meaning is namáz, here it means du'á.

(vii) Şaltáu'l-Janáza.—Prayers at a funeral. When a person is about to die, the attendants should place him on his right side with his face Qibla-wards. In that position he should repeat the 'kalimatu'sh-shahádat,' the creed of testimony: 'I confess that God is one, without a partner; that truly, Muḥammad is His servant and His Apostle.'

¹ That is, a non-Muslim who is allowed to reside in a Musalmán State on payment of a special tax, called the *jizya*.

After death has taken place, the corpse is laid out, incense is burnt, and the shroud is perfumed an odd number of times. An odd number of prayers is fixed upon because the number one, which represents the unity of God, is odd and not even. The lesser lustration (*waḍú'*) is then made. The head and beard are washed with a decoction made of some flowers, after which the greater lustration (*ghusl*) is made.

To recite the *Ṣalātu'l-Janáza* is a duty called *farḍu'l-kifáya*, that is, if some few persons in the assembly say it, all need not do so; whilst if no one repeats it, all will be guilty of sin. To prove that this *ṣalát* is *farḍ* the following verse is quoted: 'Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse and purify them thereby, and pray for them; for thy prayers shall assure their minds: and God heareth, knoweth' (ix. 104).¹ The proof that it is not *farḍu'l-'ain* (i.e. incumbent on all), but *farḍu'l-kifáya*, is drawn from an account given in a Tradition to the effect that the Prophet one day did not recite the *ṣalát* over one of his deceased followers. Now, if the *ṣalát* had been *farḍu'l-'ain*, even the Prophet could not have omitted it. His *sunna*, or practice, has decided the nature of the *farḍ* command contained in the verse of the *Qur'án* just quoted. This *ṣalát* can only be said when the corpse is present. It is recited in the open space in front of the mosque, or in some neighbouring spot: never in the graveyard.

¹ For an account of the occasion which called forth this verse, see Sell, *Historical Development of the Qur'án* (3rd ed.), p. 211.

When all are assembled the Imám or leader says:

Here begins the ṣalát for the dead.' The company present then stand up in rows with faces turned in the direction of Mecca. The Imám stands a little in front, near the head or waist of the corpse, according as it is that of a male or female. Then all assume the qiyám or standing position, and recite the niyyat as follows:—

I recite ṣalát for the sake of God, and offer prayers (du'á) for this deceased person, and I follow the Imám.

Then all at the first ¹ takbír put the hands to the lobes of their ears and say:—

God is Great!

Then they say the thaná:—

Holiness to Thee, O God! and to Thee be praise! Great is Thy name! Great is Thy greatness! Great is Thy praise! There is no God but Thee!

Then follows the second takbír:—

God is Great!

Then all say the ṣalátu'l-Ibráhím:²—

O God, have mercy on Muhammad and upon his descendants, as Thou didst bestow mercy, and peace, and blessing, and compassion, and great kindness upon Abraham and upon his descendants. 'Thou art praised, and Thou art Great!' 'O God, bless Muḥammad and his descendants, as Thou didst bless, and didst have compassion and great kindness upon Abraham and upon his descendants.

Then follows the third takbír:—

God is Great.

¹ The Sháfi'ites raise the hands at the recital of each of the four takbírs; the other sects do so only at the first.

² This prayer is known in Persia and in India as the durúdu'l-Ibráhím.

The du'á is then repeated:—

O God, forgive our living and our dead, and those of us who are present, and those who are absent, and our children and our full-grown persons, our men and our women. O God, those whom Thou dost keep alive amongst us, keep alive in Islám, and those whom Thou causest to die, let them die in the Faith.¹

Then follows the fourth takbír:—

God is Great !

Then all say:—

O God, give us good in this world and in the next, and save us by Thy mercy from the troubles of the grave and of hell.

Then each one in a low voice says the salúm, as in an ordinary šalát.²

The šalát is now over, and the people make another du'á thus:—

O our Lord ! suffer not our hearts to go astray after that Thou hast once guided us, and give us mercy from before Thee ; for verily Thou art He who giveth (iii. 6). O God, Thou art his Master, and Thou createdst him, and Thou didst nourish him, and didst guide him toward Islám, and Thou hast taken his life, and Thou knowest well his inner and outer life. Provide intercessors for us. Forgive him, for Thou art the Forgiver, the most Merciful.³

¹ If the deceased was a child or a mad person, they say : ' O God, make him (or her, as the case may be) a guide for us, and make him a cause of our gaining a future reward. O God, save him and make him an intercessor for us.'

² The Imám makes the niyyat (intention) in his mind that the salám may be on his guardian angels, and on the worshippers who are behind him ; each worshipper makes the niyyat that the salám may be on his guardian angels, on his fellow-worshippers, and on the Imám.

³ A deceased Muslim is called ' maghfúr lahu,' i.e. one who is not only absolved from sin, but is also admitted into Paradise : the term is derived from ' ghafr,' which adds to the meaning of ' afú ' (he absolved) the further idea of a participation in the joys of heaven

Then going towards the head of the corpse, they say:—

No doubt is there about this Book (Qur'án). It is a guidance to the God-fearing, who believe in the unseen, who observe prayer (ṣalát), and out of what We have bestowed on them expend (for God), and who believe in that which hath been sent down to thee (Muḥammad), and in what hath been sent down before thee; and full faith have they in the life to come: these are guided by their Lord; and with these it shall be well (ii. 1-4).

Then coming towards the feet of the corpse, they say:—

The Apostle believeth in that which hath been sent down from his Lord, as do the faithful also. Each believeth in God, and His angels, and His Books and His Apostles: We make no distinction between any of His Apo-tles.¹ And they say: 'We have heard and we obey. (We implore) Thy mercy, Lord; for unto Thee must we return.' God will not burden any soul beyond its power. It shall enjoy the good which it hath acquired, and shall bear the evil for the acquirement of which it laboured. O our Lord! punish us not if we forget or fall into sin; O our Lord! and lay not on us a load like that which Thou hast laid on those who have been before us;² O our Lord! and lay not on us that for which we have no strength, but blot out our sins and forgive us, and have pity on us. Thou art our protector: give us victory therefore over the infidel nations (ii. 285-6).

¹ This contradicts Súra ii. 254. Muslims explain it thus: 'We accept all prophets, and as regards *faith* in them make no difference, though as regards *dignity* we recognize the distinction indicated in the 254th verse.'

² That is, the Jews and Christians, on whom, it is said by the Muslim commentators, many strict ceremonial observances were incumbent. The word often used to express the idea of the burdensome nature of ceremonial observance is *taklif*, trouble. Practically, Muslims are not free from these loads, a fact which finds expression in the word used for a pious man—a *mukallaf*, one who has to take trouble in the way of performing religious duties.

The chief mourner then says:—

All have permission to depart.

Some then proceed home-wards, others go with the corpse to the graveyard. When the bier is lifted up, or when it is placed down near the grave, the people say :—

We commit thee to earth in the name of God and in the religion of the Prophet.

If the ground is very hard, a recess (laḥd) is dug out in the side of the grave, high enough¹ to allow the corpse to sit up when the angels Munkar and Nakír come to interrogate it. If the ground is soft, a small grave is excavated at the bottom of the larger one. The corpse is then placed in the lower one. The corpse must be in such a position that it can have free movement. The body is placed with the face towards Mecca. When the bands of the shroud have been loosened the people say:—

O God, deprive us not of the heavenly reward of the deceased, place us not in trouble.

Each person then takes seven clods of earth, and over each clod says 'Bismilláh' (in the name of God), and the Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii), and then places each clod by the head of the corpse. Unburnt bricks, bamboos or boards having then been placed over the smaller grave, the persons present with both hands throw clods of earth three times into the grave. The first time they say:—

From it (earth) We created you ; the second time, And into it will We return you ; the third time, And out of it will We bring you a second time (xx. 57).

¹ This was the Madína plan. Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 229.

Then they say this du'á:—

O God, I beseech Thee for the sake of Muhammad not to trouble the deceased.

When the attendants are filling up the grave they say:—

O God, defend the deceased from Shaitán (devil) and from the torments of the grave.

When the grave is completely filled up, one man pours water three, or five, or seven times over it, and then plants a green branch on it. One of the mourners then draws near the middle of the grave and recites the talqín (instruction):—

O servant of God, and child of a female servant of God. O son of (such an one),¹ remember the faith you professed on earth to the very last; that is, your witness that there is no god but God, and that certainly Muḥammad is His Apostle, and that Paradise and Hell and the Resurrection from the dead are real; that there will be a day of judgment, and say: 'I confess that God is my Lord, Islám my religion, Muḥammad (on whom be the mercy and peace of God) my Prophet, the Qur'án my guide, the Ka'ba my Qibla, and, that Muslims are my brethren.' O God, keep him (the deceased) firm in this faith, and widen his grave, and make his examination (by Munkar and Nakír) easy, and exalt him and have mercy on him, O Thou most Merciful.

The other persons present then offer a fátiḥa, the reward of which act passes on to the deceased.

After this they may read the Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) and the Súratu'l-Mulk (lxvii). Then, retiring forty paces from the grave, they again offer a fátiḥa, for by this time the examination of the

¹ The name of the mother is here inserted. The mother's name is chosen in preference to that of the father, as there can be no doubt as to the maternity of the child. For the same reason it is said that at the Last Day each man will be summoned as such an one, son of such a mother. This simple fact reveals a sad state of morals, or at least doubt as to the virtue of women.

deceased has commenced. The first night is one of great trouble to the deceased, so alms should be given liberally that night in his name. In order to relieve him as much as possible, two nafl rak'ats of a ṣalāt should be said. After the fātiḥa in each rak'at, the worshipper should repeat the Ayatu'l-Kursi, the throne verse (ii. 256) three times; then the Súratu't-Takáthur (cii) eleven times; then the Súratu'l-Ikhlāṣ (cxii) three times. After the salām and the durúd, the worshipper lifts up both hands, and with great humility prays that the reward of the service just concluded may be bestowed on the deceased.

(viii) Ṣalātu'l-Istikhára.—This is a ṣalāt, consisting of two rak'ats, said before undertaking any special work. After each rak'at the person says this du'á:—

O God, make me know what is best for me, and keep me from evil, and bestow good upon me, for I have no power to know what is best for me.

He then goes to sleep, expecting to receive a special inspiration to guide him aright as to the matter in hand.

(ix) Ṣalātu't-Tauba.—This is the prayer of repentance. The worshipper after waḍú' asks God for pardon, then recites Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 129-30 and concludes with a prayer of two rak'ats.

The account given of the various forms of ṣalāt will show how mechanical they are. These forms admit of no variation, whether used in public or in private.¹

¹ A Muslim who would attain to great merit engages in devotional exercises called wird, done chiefly at night. For al-Ghazáli's account of this religious exercise, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, pp. 152-3. See also

3. ROZA, THE THIRTY DAYS' FAST OF RAMADÁN. —Fasting¹ (which is called in Arabic, *Ṣaum*) is defined to be abstinence from food, drink, and cohabitation from sunrise to sunset. The person should say: 'O Lord, I intend to fast to-morrow for Thy sake. Forgive my past and future sin.' When the fast is ended he says: 'O God, I fasted for Thy sake and had faith in Thee, and confided in Thee, and now I break (*iftár*) the fast with the food Thou givest. Accept this act.'

It is a farḍ duty to fast during the thirty days of the month Ramaḍán. Thus: 'As to the month Ramaḍán, in which the Qur'án was sent down to be man's guidance, and an explanation of that guidance, and of that illumination, as soon as any one of you observeth the moon, let him set about the fast' (ii. 179–181). The *Ijmá'* is also unanimous on this point. Young children and idiots are excused. Sick persons and travellers may postpone the fast to another time. 'He who is sick or upon a journey shall fast a like number of other days. God wisheth you ease, but wisheth not your discomfort, and that you fulfil the number of days' (ii. 181). This is called a *qaḍá'* fast, that is, a fast

Margoliouth, *Muḥammad*, pp. 103, 258. At the same time, it must be admitted that some Muslim theologians had a much higher conception of prayer, and taught that it was only effectual when the worshipper was honest in his actions, firm in his trust in God, calm in mind, free from desire to injure a relative or a Muslim, and not anxious in seeking for what was impossible. Still, in his case the strict ritual was necessary.

¹ The Prophet said: 'Fasting is a shield. There is a special door of Paradise; it is called *Rayyán*, and only those who fast can enter by it; when all such have entered it will be fastened.' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, *Kítābu's-ṣaum*.

kept at another time in lieu of one which has been omitted. If a person makes a vow that, if God grants a certain request, he will fast (*ṣaumu'n-nadh'r*), or if he fasts by way of atonement for some sin committed (*ṣaumu'l-kaffára*), in both cases it is a *wájib* duty to keep the fast. Some hold that the former is a *farḍ* duty, and base their assertion on the verse: 'Let them bring the neglect of their persons to a close, and let them pay their vows' (xxii. 30).

All other kinds of fasts are *nafl*, or voluntary, such as the fasts kept on the 10th day of *Muḥar-rám*, on the *Aiyámu'l-Bíz* (bright days)—the 13th, 14th, and 15th day of any month, on the 15th of *Sha'bán*, that is, the day following the night called *Shab-Barát*, and on the 30th of each month in which there are thirty days. A *nafl* fast may be broken if the person who intended to keep it receives an invitation to a feast. According to *Bukhári*, a woman may not make a *nafl* fast without the consent of her husband. The reverse is not the case, for 'Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other,¹ and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them' (iv. 38). One day a woman came to the Prophet and said that her husband had slapped her. The Prophet wished to punish him for doing so improper an act, but he was prevented by the descent from heaven of the verse just quoted, which is held to be conclusive evidence of the inferiority of women. This verse

¹ *Baiḍáwí* gives a long list of these qualities, amongst which are wisdom, good counsel, strength in action and many others (i. 207).

also contains the words 'chide those (wives) for whose refractoriness ye have cause to fear; remove them into beds apart, and scourge them.' It is *mustahab* to fast some days in the month *Shawwál*, for *Muḥammad* said: 'Whosoever keeps the fast of *Ramadán* and some seven days in the preceding month of *Shawwál*, it is as if his whole life were a fast.'

If, on account of dull weather or of dust-storms, the new moon is not visible, it is sufficient to act on the testimony of a trustworthy person who declares that *Ramadán* has commenced. *Imám Sháfi'í* requires two, but the following Tradition is quoted against him: 'An Arab came to the Prophet and said, "I have seen the new moon." His Excellency said, "Dost thou believe that there is no god but God? Dost thou confess that *Muḥammad* is his Apostle?" "Yes," replied the man. The Prophet calling *Billál*, the *Mu'adhhdhin*, said: "Tell the people to commence the fast." ' This proves that the evidence of one good Muslim is sufficient testimony in the matter.

The fast is destroyed in the following cases, e.g. if, when cleansing the teeth, a little water should pass into the throat; if food is eaten under compulsion; if an enema is used; if medicine is put into the ears, nose, or a wound in the head; if a meal has been taken on the supposition that it was night when it was really day; if the *niyyat* in the *Ramadán* fast was not properly made; if after a meal taken during the night a portion of food larger than a grain of corn remains between the teeth or in a cavity of a tooth; lastly, if food is vomited. In each of these

cases a qaḍá fast must be kept in lieu of the one thus broken. In the case where the fast is deliberately broken, he must fast every day for two months; if that cannot be done, he must give sixty persons two full meals each, or give one man such meals daily for sixty days. The fast is not broken by merely tasting anything, by applying antimony to the eyes and oil to the beard, by cleansing the teeth or by kissing a person;¹ but it is considered better not to do these things during the daytime.

If a person through the infirmity of old age is not able to keep the fast, he must perform ṣadaqa, that is, he must feed a poor person. This opinion is based on a sentence in the Qur'án which has caused a great deal of dispute: 'As for those who are able (to keep it and yet break it), the expiation of this shall be the maintenance of a poor man' (ii. 180). This seems to make fasting a matter of personal option, and some Commentators admit that at first it was so, but they say that the words have been abrogated² by the following sentence, which occurs in the next verse: 'As soon as any one of you observeth the moon, let him set about the fast.' Others say that the negative particle 'not' must be understood before 'able,' in which case the words within brackets must be omitted. Others explain

¹ Serious discussions have been raised as to whether during a period of fasting a man may kiss his wife. 'Áyisha states that it was the custom of the Prophet so to do and thus it is considered lawful, provided it raises no amorous desires. *Faiḍu'l-Bári*, v. 206-8.

² Baiḍáwí says it is abrogated (i. 101). There are others who maintain that it is a muḥkam statement, and cannot therefore be abrogated. They hold that it must be restricted to the aged and to persons who have chronic diseases. *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, p. 30; *Tafsir-i-Faiḍu'l-Karím*, p. 120.

the expression 'those who are able' as equivalent to 'those who have great difficulty therein,' such as aged and infirm persons. This seems to be the best interpretation, and it is usually acted on.

In the case of women with child, mothers giving suck to their children, sick persons whom fasting at this particular time might injure, it is sufficient if they keep it at another time. In these cases the *ṣadaqa* is not required. The Qur'án says: 'He who is sick or upon a journey shall fast a like number of other days' (ii. 181). There are five days in the year in which it is unlawful to fast. These are 'Idu'l-Fitr, Baqr'id, and the three following days, namely, the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Dhu'l-Hijja. If during the month of Ramaḍán a person arrives at maturity, or an infidel becomes a Muslim, each must keep the fast during the remaining days of the month.

To take the *saḥarí*, or meal taken just before sunrise in the month of Ramaḍán is a sunna act. Bukhári, Muslim, and Tirmídhí, all agree that the Prophet said, 'Eat *saḥarí* because there is a blessing in it. The difference between our fast and that of the men of the Book (Christians) is the partaking of *saḥarí*.' The meal eaten immediately after sunset is called *iftár*, or the breaking of the fast.

A Muḥammadan fast is a fast during the day only. The rich classes, when not strictly religious, by turning day into night avoid much of its rigour, but popular opinion all over the Muslim world is strongly against a man who does not, outwardly at least, observe the fast of Ramaḍán. In this matter it may be said, '*Pecher en secret, n'est pas pecher*,

ce n'est que l'éclat qui fait le crime.' Those who have to work for their living find the observance of this fast very difficult, yet, as a rule, the lower classes observe it strictly.¹

Fasting is only once referred to in a Meccan Súra (xix. 27). It is simply a historical reference and is not recommended for imitation. As yet fasting was not an obligation. In Madína, the desire to win the good opinion of the Jews, led Muḥammad to imitate their custom and to officially pronounce fasting to be a sacred rite.

4. ZAKÁT.—There are two terms in use to express alms-giving. The first is zakát, or the legal alms due, with certain exceptions, from every Muslim. The second is ṣadaqa, or offerings on the feast-day known as 'Idu'l-Fiṭr, or alms in general.² It is the first of these that has now to be considered.

It is a fard duty for every Muslim of full age, to give the zakát on account of his property, provided that he has sufficient for his subsistence. The Qur'án says: 'Observe prayer (ṣalát) and the legal impost (zakát)' (ii. 40, 77, 104).³ The Khalífa 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz used to say: 'Prayer carries us half-way to God, fasting brings us to the

¹ Burton says that when, in the disguise of a Musalmán doctor, he was in Cairo making preparations for the Ḥajj, he had but one patient who would break his fast to save his life. *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, i. 74.

² 'The former are called zakát, either because they increase a man's store by drawing down a blessing on him, and produce in his soul the virtue of liberality, or because they purify the remaining part of one's substance from pollution, and the soul from the filth of avarice; the latter are called ṣadaqa, because they are a proof of a man's sincerity in the worship of God.' Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, sect. iv.

³ See also Súras iv. 79; ix. 5, 11; xxii. 42, 78; xxiv. 55; lviii. 14; all late Meccan Súras.

door of His palace, and alms procure us admission.'¹ The three conditions without which zakát would not be compulsory are: Islám, ḥurríyat (freedom), and niṣáb (stock). The reason for this is that zakát is a fundamental part of 'ibádat (worship). Ḥurríyat, or freedom, is necessary, for slaves hold no property. When the niṣáb, income, or stock, is required for daily use, the zakát is not taken from it; such as, grain for food, tools, books, household furniture, wearing apparel and horses for riding. If a person owes a debt, the amount necessary for its liquidation must be deducted from his property and the zakát given on the balance. If it is a debt due to God, such as an offering due on a vow, or to be given in atonement for the neglect of some religious duty, it must not be deducted from the property on which zakát is due.

When the niṣáb is in gold or in silver to the value of about £5, then one-fortieth part is due. On all rikáz or buried treasure and on metals extracted from mines, one-fifth of the value must be paid; for sheep, buffaloes and goats nothing is given when the number is under forty.

For merchandise and articles of food, the rate varies.²

The zakát is given to the following classes of persons. 'Alms are to be given to the poor and the needy, and to those who collect them, *and to those whose hearts are won to Islám*, and for ransoms, and for debtors, and for the cause of God, and for

¹ The exaltation of alms-giving is a characteristic of later Judaism. Alms do deliver from death and suffereth not to come into darkness' Tobit, iv. 10.

² For further details, see Klein, *Religion of Islám*, pp. 157-9.

the wayfarer' (ix. 60). The words I have italicised, according to Ḥusain, Baiḍáwí, and other authorities, are now cancelled, or rather they are allowed to fall into disuse, for the term *sáqit*, which is the one used, is not so strong as the word *mansúkh* (abrogated).¹ The reference is to the Arab chiefs who were beaten by the Prophet at the battle of Hunain (A.H. 8).² 'God has helped you in many battle-fields, and on the day of Hunain. He sent down the hosts which ye saw not, and He punished the infidels' (ix. 25, 26). Abú Bakr abolished this giving of *zakát* to converts, and the *Khalífa* 'Umar said to these or similar persons; 'This *zakát* was given to incline your hearts towards Islám. Now God has prospered Islám. If you be converted it is well; if not, a sword is between us.' No Companion has denied this statement, and so the authority for the practical suspension of this order is that of the *Ijmá'u'l-Ummat*. It is well that an appeal to unworthy motives should be abolished, but no commentator, so far as I know, makes that a reason for the cancelling of this order. It is always placed on the ground of the triumphant nature of Islám, which now needs no such support.

Zakát may be given to a slave to enable him to purchase his freedom, or to enable a poor person to perform the Ḥajj. Credit must be given for the care which Muslims take of their poor. It must not

¹ *Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini*, i. 260. *Khalāṣatu't-Tafsir*, ii. 271. Baiḍáwí, i. 390. The term al-Mu'allafa Qulūbuhum, 'whose hearts are won,' was the name by which the chiefs reconciled after the battle of Hunain were known.

² See Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 198.

be given to a Dhimmi. It is an obligatory act of worship and may be enforced by the State.¹

Jizya, or poll-tax, is levied on non-Muslims. It is of the nature of a ransom, or permits a non-Muslim to reside in a Muslim country.²

5. THE HAJJ.—The Hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is a farḍ duty. ‘Proclaim to the people a pilgrimage . . . Let them pay their vows and circuit the ancient House. This do. And he that respecteth the sacred ordinances of God, this will be best for him with the Lord’ (xxii. 28, 30, 31). ‘The pilgrimage to the temple is a service due to God from those who are able to journey thither; and as to him who believeth not, verily God can afford to dispense with all creatures’ (iii. 91, 92). Baiḍāwī (i. 117) says that the words ‘are able’ in this verse, were interpreted by the Prophet to mean the possession of food to eat and an animal to ride, from which statement, Imám ash-Sháfi‘i argued that a man who could not go in person might send a substitute. Imám Málík says any one who can walk and keep himself on the way, must go. Imám Abú Ḥanifa considered that it refers both to the means and the strength of the individual. On the authority of Ibn ‘Abbás the following Tradition has been handed down: ‘The Prophet said, “God has made the Hajj farḍ.” Then ‘Aqra bin Hábis, standing up, said: “O Prophet, is it to be made every year?” His Excellency said: “If I say yes, it

¹ ‘Now it is left to the religious sense of each Muslim, even in self-governing Muḥammadan countries, whether to pay zakát or not,’ *Muḥammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 387.

² *Ibid*, p. 387.

will be a wájib duty to do it annually; but that ye are not able to bear, so the Ḥajj is necessary only once; whatever pilgrimage may be made to Mecca in addition is nafl or voluntary.”’

If a slave or a child should make the Ḥajj, the former on attaining freedom, and the latter on coming of age, must again go on pilgrimage. If a woman, whose residence is at a distance of more than three days' journey from Mecca, goes on pilgrimage, she must be accompanied by her husband or by a near relative. ‘A certain man came to the Prophet and said: “My wife is about to make the Ḥajj, but I am called to go on a warlike expedition.” The Prophet said: “Turn away from the war and accompany thy wife in the Ḥajj.”’

Connected with the Ḥajj there are three farḍ and five wájib actions; all the rest are sunna or mustaḥabb. The farḍ ones are: (1) to wear no other garment except the iḥrám,² two seamless wrappers, one of which is worn round the loins, the other thrown over the shoulders, the head being uncovered; (2) to stand on ‘Arafát; (3) to make the ṭawáf, that is, to go round the Ka‘ba, seven times. The wájib duties are: (1) to stay in Muzdalífah; (2) to run between Mount Şafá and Mount Marwa (ii. 153); (3) to perform the ramyu'r-rijám, or the casting of the pebbles; (4) to make an extra ṭawáf; (if

¹ Maulavi Rafi‘u'd-Dín Aḥmad writes thus in the *Nineteenth Century*, October 1897: ‘The Ḥajj cleanses the hearts of men and makes them innocent like new-born babes.’

² This ceremony is called al-iḥrám (making unlawful) because now various actions and pursuits must be abstained from. The ceremony of doffing the pilgrim's garb is called al-iḥlál (making lawful) for now the pilgrim returns to the ordinary pursuits and joys of a life in the world.

the Hájís are not Meccans); and also (5) to shave the head after the pilgrimage is over.

The Ḥajj must be made at the appointed season. 'Let the pilgrimage be made in the months already known' (ii. 193).¹ The actual Ḥajj must be in the month of Dhu'l-Hijja.

The 'Umra, or ordinary pilgrimage, can be done at any time of the year except on the ninth and four succeeding days of Dhu'l-Hijja. The authority for the 'Umra is found in the text: 'Accomplish the pilgrimage (Ḥajj) and the visitation' ('Umra) (ii. 192).² On each of the various roads leading to Mecca, there are at a distance of about five or six miles from the city, stages called Miqát.

The Hájís from all parts of the Muslim world at length arrive, weary and worn, at one of these stages or resting places. They divest themselves of their ordinary clothing, perform the legal ablution (ghusl), pare their nails, comb their beards, say a namáz of two nafl rak'ats, and then put on the iḥrám. The Hájí then faces Mecca, makes the niyyat, and says: 'O God, I purpose to make the Ḥajj; make this service easy to me, and accept it from me.' He then says the talbíya; ³ 'Here I am! O Alláh!

¹ These months are Shawwál, Dhu'l-Qa'da, and the first ten days of Dhu'l-Hijja.

² Baiḍáwí (ii. 108) says 'A woman asked the Prophet if the 'Umra was wájib like the Ḥajj. The Prophet said it was not, but that it was a good thing to do.' The Khalifa 'Umar said that it was also a sunna practice.

³ Talbíya means the repetition of Labbaik, a phrase equivalent to 'I am here.' The talbíya can be said in any language, though Arabic is preferred. It is a sunna duty to repeat it often; to repeat it once is shart, i.e. a positive condition. Ibn 'Abbás says: 'I heard the Prophet say, "He who dies engaged in the functions of the Ḥajj shall be raised saying the salutation Labbaik."'

Here I am! Here I am! There is no God but Thee! Truly, praise and bounty, and the kingdom are to Thee! No partner hast Thou! Here am I!’

The Hájí must now abstain from all worldly affairs. He is not allowed to hunt, though he may catch fish if he can. ‘O Believers, kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage’ (v. 96). Bukhárí¹ says that game killed by others may be eaten, and records the following Tradition: ‘O Prophet, I have slain a wild ass, and some of it yet remains with me. Thy people fear to eat of it lest they be put away from thee.’ He said: ‘Let it be for the people;’ and they were Muḥrimúm, i.e. they had assumed the iḥrám. The Hájí must not scratch himself, lest vermin be destroyed or a hair be uprooted. Bukhárí (i. 458) relates how a pilgrim killed a louse, and had, in consequence, to sacrifice a goat, or to fast three days, or to feed six persons. Should the Hájí feel uncomfortable, he must rub himself with the open palm of his hand.² The face and head must be left uncovered, the hair on the head and beard unwashed and uncut. ‘Shave not your heads until the offering reach the place of sacrifice’ (ii. 192). On meeting any one, on entering the city of Mecca or the Musjidu’l-Ḥarám,³ the Hájí should continually repeat the word Labbaik,

¹ *Ṣaḥíḥu’l-Bukhárí*, chapter on the Ḥajj, i. 384 *et seq.*

² The object of these minute details is that the ‘Truce of God’ may be kept. Five noxious creatures, however, may be slain, namely, a crow, a kite, a scorpion, a rat and a mad dog.

³ The Musjidu’l-Ḥarám is the large mosque in Mecca. The Ka’ba (cube) is a square stone building in the centre. This is also called the Qibla.

Labbaik. As soon as he sees the Ka'ba¹ he must say the takbír and the tahlíl. Other customs are (1) at a place called Dhú Túwa to bathe, (2) when near Mecca, to say: 'O God, this is Thy sanctuary and the place of security; preserve my flesh and blood from hell-fire'. (3) on seeing the Ka'ba to say: 'There is no god but God! God is great.'

On entering the enclosure, by the gate of the Beni Shaiba, the Hájí says the labbaik, takbír, and the tahlíl, then a du'á, followed by a namáz of two rak'ats at the station of one of the four Imáms. On arriving near the ḥajaru'l-aswad (black stone) the Hájí again says the takbír and the tahlíl, and kisses the stone.² At the same time he says: 'O Alláh, (I do this) in Thy belief, and in verification of Thy book, and in pursuance of Thy Prophet's example—may Alláh bless and preserve him. O accept Thou my supplication, and graciously grant me Thy pardon.' He then encompasses the Ka'ba

¹ The 'Ulamá consider the Ka'ba a sacred place. They quote the verse 'Verily the first house built for mankind was that of Beccah (Mecca)—Blessed and a guidance to human beings. Therein are manifest signs, even the standing-place of Abraham, and he who entereth is safe' (iii. 90-1). The word 'therein' is said to mean Mecca, and the 'manifest signs' the Ka'ba, which contains such marvels as the foot-prints on Abraham's platform, and is the spiritual safeguard of all who enter it.

² A Hájí thus graphically describes the scene: 'Now we were driven forward, and then we were hurled back; indeed the bare-footed Faithful, seeing their hopes alternately rise and fall, grew grimly resolute to kiss the black stone, cost them what it might. The yearning to do so, which had filled their hearts with piety in the seclusion of their homes gave place at close quarters to a determination so fierce and uncontrollable as might have offered to a cool-headed spectator a living picture of pandemonium.' Hadji Khán, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 135.

seven times, saying, 'In the name of Alláh, and Alláh is Omnipotent! I purpose to make the circuit seven times.' This is called the *ṭawáf*.¹ The *Hájí* runs round three times at a rapid pace, and four times he proceeds slowly. In this he follows the practice of the Prophet.² The *Hájí* then presses his stomach, chest, and right cheek against the portion of the Ka'ba wall called *al-multazim*, and raising up his arms on high, says, 'O Alláh, Lord of the Ancient House, free my neck from hell-fire, and preserve me from every evil deed; make me contented with that daily bread which Thou hast given to me, and bless me in all Thou hast granted!'

The *Hájí* next proceeds to the *maqámu'l-Ibráhím*³ (place of Abraham) and then recites two *rak'ats* called *sunnatu't-ṭawáf*. After the first *rak'at*, he repeats *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 119; after the second one *Súratu'l-Ikhlás* (cxii). Some water from the

¹ According to Shahrastání, the Muslim philosophers believed this sevenfold circumambulation to be symbolical of the motion of the planets round the sun. The circular whirling of the *Mawláwiyya* *Darwishes* represent the same idea. The *Şúfis* draw spiritual lessons from it.

In a very late *Madína Sura*, *Suratu'l-Hajj* (xxii), Abraham is connected with the Ka'ba and the *ṭawáf*, 'And call to mind when We assigned the site of the Ka'ba to Abraham and said: "Unite not aught with Me in worship and cleanse my house for those who go in procession round it"' (xxii. 27). *Muḥammad* assumed that the *ṭawáf* was a custom observed in the time of Abraham. He evidently thought that by its retention he could assure the Jews that he was only a restorer of the religion of Abraham and thus conciliate them as well as the people of Mecca.

² *Rauḍatu's-Şafá*, Part II, ii. 694.

³ The *maqámu'l-Ibráhím* is a small building, supported by six pillars, four of which are surrounded from top to bottom by a fine iron railing. Within the railing is a frame about five feet square, said to contain the sacred stone on which Abraham sat when he built the Ka'ba.

sacred well zamzam¹ is then drunk, after which the Hájí returns to the hajaru'l-aswad, and again kisses it.

Hájí Burton thus describes one shauṭ or single circuit:—

We began the prayer, 'O Alláh (I do this) in Thy belief and in verification of Thy Book, and in faithfulness to Thy covenant and after the example of Thy Prophet Muḥammad. May Alláh bless and preserve him!' till we reached the place al-multazim, between the corner of the black stone and the Ka'ba door. Here we ejaculated, 'O Alláh, Thou hast rights, so pardon my transgressing them.' Opposite the door we repeated: 'O Alláh, verily the house is Thy house, and the sanctuary Thy sanctuary, and the safeguard Thy safeguard, and this is the place of him who flees to Thee from (hell) fire.' At the building called maqámu'l-Ibráhím we said: 'O Alláh, verily this is the place of Abraham, who took refuge with, and fled to Thee from the fire! O deny my flesh and blood, my skin and bones to the (eternal) flames.' As we paced slowly round the north or 'Iráq corner of the Ka'ba we exclaimed: 'O Alláh verily I take refuge with Thee from polytheism, and disobedience, and hypocrisy, and evil conversation, and evil thoughts concerning family, and property, and progeny.' Turning to the west corner, we exclaimed: 'O Alláh, make it an acceptable pilgrimage, and a forgiveness of sins, and a laudable endeavour, and a pleasant action (in Thy sight), and a store which perisheth not, O Thou Glorious, O Thou Pardoner!' Between the

¹It is said that when Ishmael was thirsty Gabriel stamped with his foot and a spring gushed forth. This is now the sacred well and grave-clothes washed in it are looked upon as a protection when the angels, Munkar and Nakir come to examine the corpse in the grave. 'The custodians of the well now reap a rich harvest from pilgrims who there wash their winding-sheets,' Hadji Khán, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, p. 146. Burton says 'it is apt to cause diarrhoea and boils and I never saw a stranger drink it without a wry face. The flavour is a salt bitter, resembling an infusion of Epsom salts in a large tumbler of tepid water' *Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii 163.

south angle and that of the black stone, we said: 'O Alláh, verily I take refuge with Thee from infidelity, and I take refuge with Thee from want, and from the tortures of the tomb, and from the troubles of life and death. O Lord, grant to me in this life prosperity, and in the next life prosperity, and save me from the punishment of fire.'¹

The next step is the running between the Mounts Şafá and Marwa, a distance of four hundred and thirty-eight yards. According to Bukhárí, some of the Anşár, on assuming the iħrám, were troubled because the idol Minát was near to Şafá, and therefore they did not like to go there. They spoke to the Prophet about it, and then this verse came: 'Verily Şafá and Marwa are among the monuments of God; whoever then maketh a pilgrimage to the temple or visiteth it, shall not be to blame if he go round about them both' (ii. 153).² At first the custom was given up, for the instincts of the early Muslims showed them it was wrong. Thus 'Ásim spoke to Anas about it, and he said, 'We considered it an order in the days of ignorance (i.e. pre-Islámic days), and when Islám came we gave it up, then this verse (ii. 153) came.' So the pagan rite was retained. Starting from Mount Şafá, the Hájí runs seven times between its summit and that of Mount Marwa. He runs, moving the shoulders, and with head erect, like soldiers charging in battle. The reason for this is, that the infidel Meccans mocked the Companions of the Prophet, and said that the climate of Madína had made them weak. This bold

¹ Burton, *Pilgrimage to al-Madínah and Meccah*, ii. 166

² Women need not observe this custom. For date of this verse, see Sell, *The Historical Development of the Qur'an* (3rd ed.), p. 123.

way of running was adopted to disprove the calumny, and so has become a sunna practice.¹ The prayer to be said during the sa'í (running) is: 'O my Lord, pardon and pity, and pass over that (sin) which Thou knowest. Verily Thou knowest what is not known, and verily Thou art the most Glorious, the most Generous. O our Lord, grant us in both worlds prosperity, and save us from fire.'

On the seventh day the Imám must preach in Mecca, and instruct the pilgrims in the ritual of the Hájj. He preaches again on the ninth and eleventh days.

On the eighth day the Hájí goes to Miná, three miles distant from Mecca, where, with all the other Hájís, he says the usual namáz, and there spends the night. This is a sunna observance.

On the morning of the ninth day, starting after the ṣalātu'l-fajr, the Hájí goes to Mount 'Arafát, where he says: 'O God, I turn to Thee, I put my trust on Thee, I desire Thee; pardon my sin, accept my Hájj, show mercy to me, supply my need in 'Arafát.' He then says labbaík, the takbír, and the tahlíl. This done, he should stand upon the mountain near to the place the Prophet is said to have occupied. This is called the wuqúf (standing), a necessary part of the Hájj. He must also listen to the sermon delivered by the Imám, who is seated on a camel, explaining what still remains of the ritual of the Hájj. All the time the Hájí should

¹ When the Muslims made their first pilgrimage to Mecca under the terms of the treaty of Hudaibiyya, they did the last part of the ceremony running, and so it has remained a sunna practice ever since. Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 180, 188.

constantly shout out the talbíya and the tahlíl, and weep bitterly. The Ḥájí then proceeds to Muzdalífa, where he should pass a portion of the night and say also the ṣalátu'l-maghrib and the ṣalátu'l'ishá together.

On the morning of the tenth day, the 'Idu'd-Ḍuḥá, or, as it is sometimes called, the 'Idu'l-Adḥá, the Ḥájí goes to Miná, where there are three different pillars, commonly known as the ash-shaitánu'l-kabír (great devil), the al-wasiṭa, or middle pillar, and the al-úlá, or first one. Holding a jamr, or pebble, between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, the Ḥájí throws it a distance of not less than fifteen feet and says, 'In the name of Alláh, and Alláh is Almighty, (I do this) in hatred of the fiend and to his shame.' The remaining six stones are thrown in like manner, to confound the devils. This ceremony is called ramyu'l-jamr, the throwing of stones.

The pilgrim then returns to Miná, and there offers the usual sacrifice of animals. It is called the 'Idu'd-Ḍuḥá, of which an account will be given in the next chapter. This act, strictly speaking, concludes the Ḥajj. The Ḥájí can now shave his head, pare his nails, and remove the iḥrám. Women cut off a bit of hair.

The remaining three days are called the Ayyámu't-tashríq, 'days of drying flesh,' because now the pilgrims prepare provisions for the return journey by cutting slices from the victims offered in sacrifice and drying them in the sun. He then returns to Mecca and makes the ṭawáfu'l-widá' (circuit of farewell) and drinks some water from the well of

zamzam. Finally, the Ḥájí kisses the threshold, and then, with hands uplifted, laying hold of the covering of the Ka'ba and weeping bitterly, he prays most humbly, and expresses regret that he will soon have to depart from a place so dear as the sacred Ka'ba. Retiring backwards, he makes his exit and the Ḥajj is complete.

Most of the ceremonies connected with the Ḥajj, the iḥrám, the shaving of the head, the going to Šafá and Marwa, the throwing of the stones, the circuit of the Ka'ba, the kissing of the black stone, and the sacrifice were all pagan ceremonies performed by the idolatrous Arabs. Muḥammad in trying to gain the Meccans to his side, confirmed an idolatrous practice which otherwise would probably have been extinct long ago.

The 'Umra is usually made before the pilgrims start homewards.¹ Its ceremonies differ but slightly from the Ḥajj. No animal sacrifice is needed. The iḥrám must be put on, and the obligations of abstinence which it entails must be observed. The usual course is then to make the ziyárat, or visit to the tomb of the Prophet at Madína. Henceforth the pilgrim assumes the honourable title of Ḥájí, and so is, ever after, a person of some consequence among the community in which he dwells.

Among the Sunnī Musalmáns the Ḥajj cannot be performed by proxy, though it is esteemed a 'good work' if some one who can afford it sends a pilgrim

¹ The Mu'tazila writer Nizám says that the Khalífa 'Umar forbade the joining of the 'Umra with the Ḥajj. Shahrastáni, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihál*, p. 40.

who otherwise could not go. The Shí'ahs, however, seem to allow it to be done by proxy.¹

It is certainly very curious to find the old pagan customs,² superstitious and silly, of the Ḥajj incorporated into a religion which professes to be monotheistic in principle and iconoclastic in practice. The explanation probably is that Muḥammad was an ardent Arab patriot, and in his great anxiety to unite the Arab tribes into a nation, strong to resist their surrounding foes, he could not afford to do away with a centre and a custom so dear to all Arabs as the Ka'ba and the Ḥajj.³ It was the one thing the scattered tribes had in common, and the one thing which appealed to the national sentiment. It was a compromise, well adapted at the time to secure the allegiance⁴ of the Arabs to Islám, by

¹ The first European to make the Ḥajj was Ludovico Bartema in 1503. About twenty more have since entered Mecca. Not all went voluntarily, for some were captive slaves accompanying their masters. To enter the city as Muslims required a competent knowledge of Arabic and a perfect acquaintance with Muslim ritual and custom, for detection meant certain death. The most distinguished ones are Ludwiz Burckhardt (1814), Sir Richard Burton (1853) and C. Snouck Hurgronje (1885). For a good account of all, see Ralli, *Christians at Mecca*, London, 1909.

² Kuenen well calls them 'a fragment of incomprehensible heathenism taken up undigested into Islám.' *Hibbert Lectures*, 1882, p. 33

³ In the *Raḍatū's-Ṣafá* (Part II, ii. 696), we read that Muḥammad, during his pilgrimage, ascended Mount 'Arafát and then, standing erect on his camel, delivered this verse: 'This day have I perfected your religion unto you and fulfilled my mercy upon you and appointed Islám to be your religion' (v. 5), thus claiming divine approval for the Ḥajj, as the culminating act of the new religion.

⁴ Speaking of the inelastic nature of Islám, Palmer says: 'The institution of the Ḥajj pilgrimage, for example, was an admirable one for consolidating the Arab tribes, but it is burdensome and useless to the Muslim communities now that they extend over nearly half the civilized world.' *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. vi. p. lxxvi.

giving a national character to it; but it has been a source of weakness since, for its continued observance emphasizes the great Islámic principle that laws, regulations, and customs suited for the Arabs of the seventh century are binding on Muslims everywhere in the twentieth. Christianity took just the opposite course. It quickly freed itself from the narrow limitations of Judaism. It left Jewish ceremonies and circumcision behind in Palestine. It never aimed at being a national religion, and so became naturally a universal one. Thus it can flourish under all forms of civil government, for it is dependent on none. It exists independently of the State, and survives all forms of political organization.

The constant reference to the Prophet's sayings and practice, as an authority for many of the details of the arkánu'd-dín, shows how largely Islám is based on the Sunna.¹ With regard to the differences

' By so doing, he unavoidably forged another link in the chain which connects the religion with superstition. During the Hajj Islám has no pretensions to be cosmopolitan but becomes entirely Arabian, and salutes not the Lord of the worlds, but old Meccan fetishes.' Odysseus, *Turkey in Europe*, p. 184.

¹ A remarkable confirmation of all I have said on the fixed and formal nature of Islám, and of the authority of the Sunna, is afforded in a Muslim newspaper published in Cairo. Describing the opening of a new mosque in London, the editor refers to some speeches made by some Musalmán gentlemen on the occasion, and says: 'Both seem to have spoken at the opening proceedings in favour of adapting Islám to European ideas. I do not know what meaning they attach to the phrase, but I do know that no adaptation or alteration of Islám will be accepted by any Muslim people. Islám as a religion, as a guide to man in life, in his duties to God and man, is divine and perfect. To say that it needs adaptation is to say that it is neither divine nor perfect, and no Muslim can or will admit either assumption. Islám as it is perfect, and as wonderfully adapted to the needs of man in England

of opinion which the great Imáms hold on some of the details, it is most difficult to decide which side holds the correct view. Such opinions are always based on some Tradition, the value of which, if disputed, it is almost impossible to determine. It is sometimes said in praise of Musalmáns that they are not priest-ridden; but no people in the world are so Tradition-ridden, if one may use such an expression. Until this chain of superstition is broken progress and enlightenment seem to be very difficult; for this foundation of the Faith and the edifice erected on it are so welded together that the undermining of the one may be the fall of the other.

or in the Arctic regions as it is to the Bedowins of the Arabian desert, and the fact that it is so is one of the striking proofs of its divine origin. It is written, "There is no change in the words of God," and therefore the Qur'án and the Sunna are for ever and for all men unchangeable.' *Egyptian Herald*, February 22, 1896, p. 4.

This statement shows; (1) the unalterable nature of the law and dogmas of Islám, (2) the inspiration of the Sunna called 'The words of God,' (3) the co-ordinate authority of the Sunna with the Qur'án as a basis of Islám. Nothing that I have said in this and preceding chapters on these points is any stronger than this published opinion.

'Pan-Islámism almost necessarily connotes an attempt to regenerate Islám on Islámic lines—in other words, to revivify and stereotype in the twentieth century the principles laid down, more than a thousand years ago, for the guidance of a primitive Society. These principles involve a recognition of slavery, laws regulating the relations of the sexes which clash with modern ideas, and, which is perhaps more important than all, that crystallization of the civil, criminal and canonical law into one immutable whole, which has so largely contributed to arrest the progress of those countries whose populations have embraced the Moslem faith.' Lord Cromer's, *Annual Reports on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Súdán in 1906*, Section on the Egyptian Nationalist Movement, published in the *London Weekly Times*, April 5, 1907.

NOTE TO CHAPTER V

THE following Fatwá was publicly given in the Great Mosque, Triplicane, Madras, February 13, 1880:—

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

THE QUESTION

O 'Ulamá of the religion and Muftis of the enlightened Law, what is your opinion in this matter? A person having translated a juz (one-thirtieth part) of the noble Qur'án into the Hindustani language, has printed it. The translation is defective; moreover, the Arabic text is not given. In order to give the translation the same authority as the original, he has retained the usual signs and marks of the Arabic editions: such as, toí, qáf, jím, lá, mím, and O.¹ At the end of the juz he has added a translation of the tashshahud, qanúd, thaná, ta'awwudh, tasmí', tashibát, rukú', and sujúd, and has said that all these must be read in Hindustani. He further states that in the translation he has retained the rhythm of the original, and that in eloquence and style it is equal to the Arabic. He has also added rubrical directions as to the ritual of the namáz, and has stated that to those who do not know Arabic it is a wájib and a farḍ duty to recite the translation. Further, in support of his views he adduces a Ḥadīthu'ṣ-ṣaḥíḥ, according to which the Prophet said to a Companion, Salmán-i-Garsí: 'Read a translation of the Qur'án in the namáz.' He claims, as on his side, the four great Imáms. He himself understands Arabic, yet he says his namáz in Hindustani, and influences others to do likewise.

Now, what is the order of the noble Law with regard to such a person, and what is the decree in the case of those who follow him? O learned men, state the Law in this matter and merit a good reward.

¹ For an explanation of these signs see Sell, *'Ilmu't-Tajwid* (C.L.S.).

THE ANSWER

After praising God, and after imploring His mercy and peace on Muḥammad, be it known that the person referred to is an infidel, an atheist, and a wanderer from the truth. His assertion that his opinions are in accordance with those of the four Imáms is utterly false, because according to Imám Sháfi'í, Imám Málík, and Imám Ḥanbal it is illegal to use a translation of the Qur'án when saying the namáz, whether the worshipper is ignorant of Arabic or not. Thus Imám Navárí, a disciple of Sháfi'í says: 'It is unlawful in any case to use Persian¹ in the namáz.' Faqí 'Alí, a disciple of Málík, says: 'Persian is unlawful.' To these opinions Káfí, a disciple of Ḥanbal, adds his testimony: 'To recite in the namáz from a translation of the Qur'án is unlawful.' The term Qur'án, means an Arabic Qur'án, for God speaks of it as a revelation in Arabic. The words 'recite so much of the Qur'án as may be easy to you' prove the duty of reciting it; whilst the words, 'an Arabic Qur'án have we sent it down' shows that the Qur'án to be used is an Arabic one, and in the *Masíḥu'l-Aẓhár* it is written: 'If a person says the namáz in a language other than Arabic, he is a madman or an atheist.' The statement made by the person complained of regarding Sulmán-i-Farsí is not correct. In the *Niháyah* (commentary on the *Hidáyah*) it is written that some Persians wrote to Salmán, and requested him to send them a Persian translation of Súratu'l-Fátiḥa. He complied with their request, and they used it in the namáz *until they could pronounce Arabic properly*. The Prophet on hearing of this circumstance made no remark. This account, however, is not trustworthy; but granting that it is true, all that it proves is that, until some Arabic words can be remembered, a translation may be used. No Imám has ever said that to read a translation is farḍ or wájib. So if the person referred to says that it is farḍ to read his own

¹ Persian was the foreign language with which the early Muslims were brought most into contact; but the objection applies equally to any other language.

translation, then it follows that to read the original Arabic will not be farḍ, but will be unlawful. Now such an opinion is infidelity. The person is a káfir, for he tries to make out that the 'Ulamá of all preceding ages, who have instructed the people from the days of the Prophet till now to read Arabic in the namáz, are sinners. He has translated the du'á-i-qunút, thaná, and the tasbīhát of the ruku' and sujúd, and has said that these translations should be used in the namáz. Thus it is plain that he wants to abolish the use of Arabic in the prayers. The result of such a course would be that soon a number of different translations would be circulated, and the text, like that of the Taurát and the Injíl, would be corrupted. In the *Fatáwá-i-'Álamgírí* it is written: 'Whosoever considers that the unlawful is lawful or vice versâ is a káfir.' 'If any one without apparent cause has enmity with one of the 'Ulamá, his orthodoxy is doubtful.' 'A man who, after committing a fault, declines to repent, though requested to do so, is an infidel.' In the *Tahqíq-i-Sharḥ-i-Ḥusainí* it is written: 'To translate the Qur'án into Persian and to read that is unlawful.' In the *Fatáwá-i-Maṭlúbu'l-Mu'minín* it is said: 'Whosoever intends to write the Qur'án in Persian must be strictly forbidden.' In the *Itqán* it is written: 'According to Ijmá', it is wrong to speak of the Qur'án as having rhymes.'¹ In the *Fatáwá-i-Tátár Kháná* it is said: 'To translate the Arabic into Persian is an act of infidelity.'

Our decision then is that the usual salutations should not be made to this person. If he dies, he must not be buried in a Musalmán cemetery. His marriages are void and his wives are at liberty, according to the rule laid down in the *Miftáhu's-Sa'dat*. As by the proofs of the law here adduced the 'Ulamá have declared such a person to be an infidel, it follows that all those who assist him or who consider his claim just, or who circulate his opinions, or who consider him to be a religious person and a fit guide for men, are also infidels. To send children to be taught by him, to

¹ This is because by so doing it would seem to ascribe to it similarity to human composition.

purchase newspapers which advocate his views, and to continue to read his translation is unlawful. In the *Fatwá-i-Álamgiri*, in the chapter entitled Murtád, it is written: 'Whosoever has doubts of the present infidelity and of the future punishment of such an one is an infidel.' God says in the Qur'án: 'Be helpful to one another according to goodness and piety, but be not helpfui for evil and malice; and fear ye God' (v. 3). In another place God says, 'Whosoever acts not according to God's order is an infidel.' Now, what greater disobedience can there be than this, that a person should say that the recital of the Arabic Qur'án in the namáz is not lawful, and that the recital of his own Hindustani translation of it is incumbent (farḍ)? Our duty is to give information to Musalmáns, and God is the best Knower.

This was written by a learned Maulaví, and signed by twenty-four other leading Maulavís of the city of Madras.

This fatwá is of very considerable importance, as showing how unyielding the law of Islám is to the varied circumstances of the countries in which it exists. The law enjoining the Arabic language as a medium of worship was suited for the Arab people, and the principle involved would seem to be that the vernacular language of a country should be used by the Muslims of that country for the purposes of devotion; but it is not so. It further demonstrates that all such matters must be regulated, not by the needs of the age or country, but by an antiquated law, framed to meet other conditions. The authority paid to the statements made by the four chief Imáms, and the fact that the fatwá is based on their decisions, and on previous fatwás in which their authority has been adduced, show how even to the present day they are regarded as the Mujtahidún of Islám. The fatwá is thus manifestly

orthodox, and corroborates most fully all I have said in the first chapter on the 'Foundations of Islám.' Again, this man might have divorced his wives and obtained others, he might have kept concubines, he might have led an evil life, and still remained in Islám; but to approach God in prayer through the medium of his mother tongue was an offence so great that he could only be regarded as an out-cast.¹

¹ 'The five daily ṣalawát might be thought to constitute a considerable devotional exercise. How they came to assume their stereotyped form will never be known; it is clear that their purpose is rather "making mention of God" and keeping the mind in constant recollection of the Divine Being, than petition or supplication. To the devout these five daily prayers did not nearly suffice. The extra devotions. (*ante* p. 166) invented by the ascetics and mystics introduced into Islám something far more analogous to the prayers of other religions than the ṣalát.' Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, pp. 147-8.

CHAPTER VI

THE FEASTS AND FASTS OF ISLĀM

1. MUHARRAM.—Muḥarram, the name of the first month of the Muḥammadan year, is also the name given to the days of mourning spent by the Shí'ahs in commemoration of the martyrdoms of 'Alī and of his two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusain. The ceremonies differ slightly in different countries. The following is a description of an Indian Muḥarram.

Some days previous to the feast, the 'Áshúr Khána (literally, ten-day house) is prepared. As soon as the new moon appears, the people gather together in the various 'Áshúr Khánas, and say a *fātiḥa*¹ over some sherbet or some sugar in the name of Ḥusain. After the *fātiḥa* the reciter adds: 'O God, grant the reward of this to the soul of Ḥusain.' The sherbet and sugar are then given to the poor. Then they mark a spot for the *áláwa*, or hole for the bonfire which is to be lit. Every night during the festival these fires are kindled, and the people, both old and young, fence across the fire with swords or sticks, and jump about calling out 'Alī! Noble Ḥusain! Noble Ḥusain! Bridegroom! Bridegroom! Friend!

The 'Áshúr Khána is generally a temporary structure, or some large hall fitted up for the occasion. Sometimes the walls are draped with black cloth, bordered with texts of the Qur'án written in a large

¹ The saying of a *fātiḥa* is the recitation of the *Súratu'l-Fātiḥa* (i) to which sometimes a short prayer is added, as in the text.

and elegant style. The place is brilliantly illuminated. On one side stands the ta'zīyas or tábúts, structures made of wood covered with tinsel and profusely ornamented and often very costly. They represent the mausoleum erected on the plains of Karbalá over the remains of Ḥusain, or the Prophet's tomb at Madína. At the back of the ta'zīyas several articles are placed, similar to those supposed to have been used by Ḥusain at Karbalá,—a turban of gold, a rich sword, a shield, a bow and arrow. The 'alams or standards, which are commonly made of copper and brass, though occasionally of gold or of silver, are placed against the walls. The usual standard is that of a hand placed on a pole. This is emblematic of the five members¹ who compose the family of the Prophet, and is the special standard of the Shí'ahs. These standards have many different names, such as the standard of the palm of 'Alí, of the Lady Fátima, of the horse-shoe (to represent the shoe of Ḥusain's swift horse) and others too numerous to mention.

Every evening large crowds of people assemble in these 'Áshúr Khánas. In the centre, on a slightly raised platform, a band of singers chant the marthiya, an elegiac poem in honour of the martyred Ḥusain. It is a monotonous performance, lasting about an hour; but it has a wonderful effect on the audience, who, seated on the ground, listen patiently and attentively. At each pause the hearers beat their breasts, and say 'Ḥusain! Ḥusain!' Real or simulated grief often finds expression in groans and

¹ These are Muḥammad, 'Alí, Fátima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain.

tears, though the more violent expression of the anguish felt is reserved for a later ceremony.

This over, the Wáqi'a Khán (literally, narrator of events) ascends the mimbar or pulpit, and seats himself on the top, or on a lower step. He proceeds to relate the historical facts, adding many curious stories gathered from the vast heap of Traditions¹ which have cast such a halo of glory around the martyrs. Sometimes he becomes very excited, and the audience is stirred up to great enthusiasm. After a while the persons present rise and form two lines facing each other. A boy then chants a few words, and the persons in the assembly begin, slowly at first, to sway their bodies to and fro, calling out 'Alí! 'Alí! Ḥusain! Ḥusain! Each one then beats his breast vigorously. In some cases blood has been known to flow from the breast, so severe is the self-inflicted beating.² This continues till they are well-nigh exhausted, when the whole company goes away, to repeat the performance over again in some other 'Áshúr Khána.

During this season women who can read visit the zanánas and chant marthiyas to the ladies of the ḥaram, by whom this season of Muḥarram is celebrated with great earnestness.

¹ I give one or two as an illustration of the extraordinary things that are said and believed: 'When al-Ḥusain was murdered, the world stood still for seven days, and the sun upon the walls appeared as a saffron coloured sheet, and the stars struck one upon the other. The sun was eclipsed that day, and the horizon was red for six months after. Not a stone was turned in Jerusalem that day but blood was found beneath it.' As-Syúfi, *History of the Khallfas*, p. 211.

² This seems to be part of an ancient ritual. The worshipper shed his own blood at the altar as a means of commending himself and his prayer to the Deity. The priests of Baal did this (1 Kings xviii. 28). For other instances, see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 303.

On the seventh day the 'alam of Qásim is taken out in public procession. This represents the marriage of Qásim, the son of Ḥasan, to the favourite daughter of Ḥusain, just before the death of the latter. This standard is usually borne by a man on horseback. The crowd shout out 'Bridegroom! Bridegroom!' As the standard which represents Qásim is supposed to be a martyr, it is when brought back laid down, covered over, and treated as a corpse. Lamentation is made over it as for one dead. Sherbet is then produced, and a fátiḥa is said, after which the standard is again set up in its own place.

The neza, a lance or spear with a lime on the top, to recall to remembrance the fact that Yazíd caused Ḥusain's head to be thus carried about, is taken in procession from one place to another. Vows are frequently made to the standard called Na'l Šāḥib, which represents the shoe of Ḥusain's horse. Thus a woman may say to it, 'Should I through your favour be blessed with offspring, I shall make it run in your procession.' If she attains her wish, the child, when seven or eight years old, has a small parasol placed in its hand and is made to run after the Na'l Šāḥib.

If two 'alams or standards meet, they embrace each other, that is, they are made to touch. A fátiḥa is then said, and the respective processions pass on their way. The buráq, supposed to be a fac-simile of the horse sent by Gabriel for Muḥammad to make the night ascent to heaven, is also taken out.

On the evening before the tenth day, which, according to the Muslim mode of computing time, is

the tenth night, the whole of the ta'ziyas and the 'alams are taken out in procession. It is the carnival of the Musalmán year.

On the following day, the 'Áshúrá, they kindle the fires in the áláwas, and say a fátiḥa in each 'Áshúr Khána. After this the 'alams and the ta'ziyas are taken away to a large open spot near water, which represents the plain of Karbalá. Another fátiḥa is said, and the ornaments and decorations are taken off the ta'ziyas, the frameworks of which are then cast into the water.¹ The water reminds the people of the parching thirst which Ḥusain felt before his death. The 'alams, are then immersed. The people then burn incense, recite the marthiyas, return home, and say a fátiḥa over the 'alams and buráqs. On the evening of the twelfth, they sit up all night reading the Qur'án, reciting marthiyas and verses in praise of Ḥusain. On the thirteenth day a quantity of food is cooked, which, when a fátiḥa has been said over it, is distributed to the poor. Some very pious Shí'ahs celebrate the fortieth day after the first of Muḥarram. It is on this day, according to some accounts, that the head and body of Ḥusain were reunited. It is known as the 'Íd-i-sar wa tan (head-and-body feast).

The Sunnis do not, except as spectators, take any part in the Muḥarram ceremonies. Indeed, where the ruling Power is not strong, there is often much ill-feeling aroused by the enthusiasm excited for all that concerns 'Alí and his family. The three first

¹ ' During the first ten days they are supposed to contain the bodies of the martyrs, but now being empty the ta'ziyas become mere ordinary frames, and can be destroyed.' Herklot, *Qásmín-i-Islám*, p. 146.

Khalifas are often well abused, and that no Sunnī can bear with patience. The breach between the Sunnī and the Shi‘ah is very wide, and the annual recurrence of the Muḥarram feast tends to keep alive the distinction.

The tenth day, the ‘Áshúrá, is a Sunna feast, and, as such, is observed by all Sunnīs. It is considered to be a most excellent day, for on it God is said to have created Adam and Eve, His throne, heaven, hell, the seat of judgment, the tablet of decree, the pen, fate, life, and death. The Sunnīs about three o’clock in the afternoon of this day prepare sherbet, and a dish composed of boiled rice and pulse mixed with clarified butter and spices. A fátiḥa in the name of Ḥusain and of those who were martyred with him is then said. A namáz of some nafl rak‘ats is said, and sometimes a du‘á is added. On this day also they go to the burial-grounds and place flowers on, and say fátiḥas over, the graves of their friends.

Indian Musalmáns have copied in their feast many Hindu ceremonies. The procession of the ta‘ziyas and the casting of them into the water is very similar to the procession at the Hindu feast of the Durga Puja, when on the tenth day the Hindus cast the idol Durga, the wife of Siva, into the Ganges. The oblations offered at different shrines are similar to those offered by the Hindus, such as rice, clarified butter, and flowers. The Muḥammadan form of worship was too simple for a country in which an allegorical and idolatrous religion predominated, addressing itself to the senses and the imaginations rather than to the understanding and the heart ;

consequently the Musalmán festivals have borrowed from it a variety of pagan rites and a pompous and splendid ceremonial.

The following is a prayer used in a fátiḥa for 'Alí :—

I pray that God may deign, for the sake of that pure soul, the ornament of the book of nature, the first of mortals after the Prophet, the star of mortals, the most precious jewel of the jewel-box of virtue, the lord of the high and the low, he who occupies a distinguished place on the bridge of eternity, the miḥráb¹ of the Faith, he who sits upon the throne of the palace of the law, the ship of the sea of religion, the sun of the firmament of glory, the power of the arm of the Prophet, he who has merited access to the tabernacle of the Divine Unity, the most profound of all religious people, the resplendent brightness of the marvels of God, the father of victory, the Imám of the gate of heaven, the cup-bearer of the water of kauthar, he who has merited the praise of Muḥammad, he who is the best of men, the holy martyr, the chief of Believers, the Imám of the Faithful, 'Alí, son of Abú Ṭálib, 'Alí the victorious lion of the Most High—I pray that God, for the sake of this holy Khalifa, may favourably hear the vows which I offer to Him.

The following prayer occurs in a fátiḥa said for Ḥasan and Ḥusain :—

I pray that the eternal God may deign to accept the vows which I make for the repose of the glorious souls of the two brave Imáms, the martyrs well-beloved by God, the innocent victims of wickedness, the blessed Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan and Abú 'Abdu'lláh al-Ḥusain, and for the twelve Imáms, and the fourteen² pure ones, and for the seventy-two martyrs of the plain of Karbalá.

¹ The miḥráb is a niche in a wall which indicates the position of Mecca. The face is always turned to it when prayers are said, so that the expression in the prayer means that 'Alí is to be the object towards which the Faithful look.

² Muḥammad, Fáṭima, and the twelve Imáms.

2. AKHIR-I-CHÁR SHAMBA.¹—This is a Persian name for a feast held on the last Wednesday of the month Šafar. It is kept in commemoration of the fact that on this day the Prophet experienced some mitigation of the disorder which in the next month terminated his life. Sweet cakes are prepared, and fátiḥas in the name of the Prophet are said over them ; but the most extraordinary custom is the drinking of the seven saláms. A plantain leaf, or a leaf of the mango-tree, or a piece of paper is taken to a Mullá, who writes seven short sentences from the Qur'án upon it. The writing whilst still wet is washed off, and the mixture drunk by the person for whom it was written. Peace and happiness are thus ensured for the future. The seven saláms are: (1) 'Peace ! shall be the word on the part of a merciful Lord' (xxxvi. 58). (2) 'Peace be on Noah throughout the worlds' (xxxvii. 77). (3) 'Peace be on Abraham' (xxxvii. 109). (4) 'Peace be on Moses and Aaron' (xxxvii. 120). (5) 'Peace be on Elias' (xxxvii. 130). (6) 'Peace be on you ; ye have been good ; enter into Paradise' (xxxix. 73). (7) 'It is peace till the breaking of the morn' (xcvii. 5).

The Shí'ahs consider this an unlucky day. They call it 'Chár Shamba-i-Šurí'—The 'Wednesday of the Trumpet ;' that is, of the trumpet of the last day. The Sunnis, on the other hand, rejoice in the day, and esteem it an excellent and auspicious season.

¹ This feast is not universally kept and the Wahnábís do not observe this or the Bárá Wafát.

3. **BÁRÁ WAFÁT.**—This feast, observed in India, but not general elsewhere, is held on the twelfth day of the month Rabí'u'l-awwal. The name is derived from *bárá*, twelve, and *wafát*, death, because many suppose that on this day the Prophet died. Others, however, maintain that he died on the second of the month, and, as there is some doubt on the subject, many persons make a *fātiḥa* every day, from the first to the twelfth of the month inclusive. Those who keep the feast as *Bárá Wafát* observe the ceremony called *şandal* on the previous evening, and the 'urs, that is, the prayers and the oblations, on the twelfth. The *şandal* consists in making a perfumed embrocation from sandal-wood. This is then placed in a vessel and carried in procession to the 'Íd-gáh,¹ or to the place where *fātiḥa* will be said. It is then distributed to the people. It is a sort of public notice on the eve of a feast-day or of a saint's day, that on the morrow the usual prayers and offerings will be made in such and such a place. On the morning of the twelfth, the Qur'án is read in the mosque or in private houses: then food is cooked and *fātiḥas* are said.

Some persons possess a *qadamu'r-Rasúl*, or footstep of the Prophet. This is a stone with the impression of a footstep on it.² It is a sacred thing,

¹ The 'Íd-gáh is usually built outside of the town, and consists of a long wall of masonry with two minarets and a large raised open court. There is a *mihráb* in the wall, but no proper *mimbar* or pulpit, three raised steps doing duty for it. Sometimes, however, a mosque is used as an 'Íd-gáh.

² Tradition records that the Prophet, after the battle of Uhud, was one day ascending a hill in a rage. The heat of his passion was such that the mountain softened into the consistence of wax, and retained, some say eighteen, others forty impressions of his feet. When rebuked

and on this day the place in which it is kept is elegantly decorated. When a company has assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose repeat the story of the birth, miracles, and death of the Prophet. Portions of the Qur'án are read and the durúd is said.

In Madras, and in some other parts, it is more customary to keep this day, not as the anniversary of the death of the Prophet, but as the 'Jashn-i-milád-i-sharíf,' the 'Feast of the noble birth.' The practical duties are the same. Instead of the qadamu'r-Rasúl, the atháru'sh-sharíf is exhibited. This relic is supposed to be a real portion of the hair of the Prophet's beard. It is said to possess the miraculous property of growing again when a portion is broken off. On this day it is put into rose-water, which those present then drink and rub on their eyes. Great virtue is attached to this proceeding. In the Áthár Khána or relic-house, fátīḥas and durúds are repeated. The observance of this festival is neither wájib nor sunna, but mustaḥabb. It is generally kept, and some people believe in the miraculous growth of the átháru'sh-sharíf.

4. LAYLATU'L-BARÁT.¹—This feast, the name of which signifies the 'night of the record,' is held on

by Gabriel for his anger, the Prophet inquired the cause of his rebuke Gabriel told him to look around. The Prophet, seeing these impressions of his feet on the stones, was astonished. His anger instantly ceased Herklot, *Qadún-i-Islám*, p. 152.

¹ Some persons suppose that the verse 'By the clear Book ! see ! on a blessed night have We sent it down, for We would warn mankind' (xliv. 1, 2) refers to this night ; but the more general opinion is that it is a reference to the Laylatu'l-Qadr when the Qur'án was given

the fourteenth day of the month Sha'bán. The 'arafa, or vigil, is kept on the preceding day.¹ The word *barát* signifies a book or record. It is said that God on this night registers in the *barát* all the actions men are to perform during the ensuing year. On the thirteenth day food is prepared for the poor and a *fātiḥa* for the benefit of deceased ancestors and relatives is said over it. When all in the house are assembled, the *Súratu'l-Fātiḥa* is read once, the *Súratu'l-Ikhlâş* (cxii) three times, the *Áyatu'l-Kursí* (ii. 256) once, and then the *durúd*. After this a prayer is offered, in which God is asked to transfer the reward of this service, and of the charity shown in the gift of food to the poor, to the souls of deceased relatives and friends of this family. This petition is offered in the name of the Prophet. The men then go to the mosque, and after the *ṣalátu'l-īshá'* they repeat a number of *nafl rak'ats*. This over, the *Súratu Yá Sín* (xxxvi) is read three times. The first time, the intention is that the worshipper may have a long life; the second time, that his means of subsistence may be increased; the third time, that he may be protected from evil. The *Súratu'd-Dukhán* (xliv) is then read with the same intentions, after which any other portions may be read. Those present then rise and go to the various cemeteries. On the way they purchase flowers to place on the graves. A *fātiḥa* is then said for the benefit of the *arwáḥu'l-qubúr*, the souls of those there buried.

¹ The Baqr 'íd is the only other feast that has an 'arafa.

These observances are neither farḍ nor sunna, but nawáfil, works of supererogation. Still though they are bid'at, they are esteemed good, and so are called bid'atu'l-ḥasana, or excellent innovation. The following prayer is added to the fátiḥa: 'O our God, by the merits of the Apostleship of Muḥammad, grant that the lamps which are lit up on this holy night may be for the dead a pledge of the light eternal, which we pray Thee to shed on them. O God, admit them, we beseech thee, into the abode of eternal felicity.'

5. RAMADÁN AND 'IDU'L-FITR.—In the second year of the Hijra it was ordained that the month of Ramaḍán should be kept as a fast (ii. 181). The Muslims had hitherto observed as the principal fast the Ashúrá, the tenth day of Muḥarram. This fast was probably connected with the Jewish fast on the tenth day of the seventh month. (Leviticus xxiii. 27). When Muhammad first went to Madína, he hoped to win over the Jews to his side; but after he failed, he took every opportunity of making Islám differ as much as possible from Judaism. This was the reason why the Qibla was changed (ii. 139) and that, in the second year of his residence at Madína, the fast of Ramaḍán was appointed.¹ The reasons assigned for the selection of this month are that in Ramaḍán God gave to the previous prophets the revelations connected with their names, and that in this month the Qur'án was sent down from the Lauḥu'l-Maḥfúz, or preserved table, in the seventh

¹ The Šábians kept a fast of thirty days and observed the feast of al-Fiṭr. Muḥammad may have borrowed the idea from them. Tisdall, *Sources of the Qur'an*, p. 53.

heaven to the first or lowest one, and that on the Laylatu'l-Qadr, or 'night of power,' the first revelation was made to Muḥammad. To illustrate the sacredness of this month the Prophet used to say that in it 'all the gates of Paradise are open, and the gates of hell are shut, and the devils are chained by the leg.' 'Only those who observe it will be allowed to enter by the gate of heaven called Rayyán.' Those who keep the fast 'will be pardoned all their past venial sins.' In making the fast one for the day, and not for the night Muḥammad may have borne in mind the verse: 'God wisheth you ease, but wisheth not your discomfort' (ii. 181), but Baiḍáwí (i. 103) explains these words as referring to the relief afforded to travellers and sick persons.

The special ceremonies connected with the Ramaḍán are the taráwih namáz and i'tikáf (retirement). In the *Ṣaḥíḥu'l-Bukḥarí* it is said that i'tikáf was kept as a ceremony by the pagan Arabs before the days of the Prophet. 'Thus 'Umar binu'l-Khaṭṭáb said: "Ô Prophet, certainly I vowed in the days of ignorance that I would perform i'takáf at night in the Musjidu'l-Ḥarám." The Prophet replied, "Fulfil thy vow and keep i'tikáf at night."' Each night in Ramaḍán one-thirtieth part (sípára) of the Qur'án is recited in the mosque. The duty of performing the i'tikáf is a sunnatu'l-mu'akkada, a very strict duty. The mu'takif, one who makes i'tikáf, must remain apart in a mosque used for public services, and there meditate. Women make i'tikáf in a private room and not in a mosque. If the meditation is disturbed by any illegal interruption, another day should be devoted to it. Some

theologians hold that i'tikáf is farḍu'l-kifáya, that is, if one person of a community does it, the obligation does not rest on the others. If, however, a person makes a vow in Ramaḍán, then i'tikáf is considered wájib. All the sects except the Sháfi'is, hold that the mu'takif must fast with intention. On no account must he go out of the mosque except for necessary purposes, and for making the legal ablutions. At night he may eat, drink, and sleep in the mosque: acts quite unlawful at other times. He may speak with others on religious matters, and, if a man of business, he may give orders with regard to the purchase and sale of merchandise, but on no account must any goods be brought to him. It is highly meritorious for him to read the Qur'án in an audible voice. By such an act he becomes a man of penetration, whose words are as powerful as a sharp sword, that is, his blessing or his curse takes effect.

When the thirty days have passed the fast is broken. This act is called íftár, and the first day on which food is taken is called the 'Ídu'l-Fiṭr—the 'feast of the breaking of the fast.' On that day the sadaqa is given before the namáz is said in the mosque. The şadaqa of the 'Ídu'l-Fiṭr is confined to Muslims: no other persons can receive these alms. When this has been done, the people go to the mosque, saying, 'God is great! God is great!' The namáz is like that of a Friday, except that only two rak'ats are said, and the khuṭba which is said after the namáz is sunna. After hearing the sermon, which is preached in Arabic, the people disperse, visit each other, and thoroughly enjoy themselves.

A very usual form of the khutba of the 'Īdu'l-Fiṭr is as follows :—

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE
MERCIFUL

Holy is God, who has opened the door of mercy for those who fast, and in mercy and kindness has granted them the right of entrance into heaven. God is greater than all. There is no God save Him. God is great ! God is great ! and worthy of praise. It is of His grace and favour that He rewards those who keep the fast. He has said : ' I will give in the future world houses and palaces, and many excellent blessings to those who fast.' Holy is He who certainly sent the Qur'án to our Prophet in the month of Ramaḍán, and who sends angels to grant peace to all true believers. We praise and thank Him for the 'Īdu'l-Fiṭr, that great blessing, and we testify that beside Him there is no God. He is alone. He has no partner. This witness which we give to His Unity will be a cause of our safety here, and finally gain us an entrance to Paradise. Muḥammad (on whom be the mercy and peace of God) and all famous prophets are His slaves. He is the Lord of genii and of men. From Him come mercy and peace upon Muḥammad and his family, so long as the world shall last. God is greater than all ; there is none beside Him. O company of believers, O congregation of Muslims, the mercy of the True One is on you. He says that this feast-day is a blessing to you, and a curse to the unbelievers. Your fasting will not be rewarded, and your prayers will be stayed in their flight to heaven until you have given the ṣadaqa. O congregation of believers, to give alms is to you a wájib duty. Your duty in Ramaḍán is to say the taráwih prayers, to make supplication to God, to sit and meditate (i'tikáf) and to read the Qur'án. The religious duties of the first ten days of Ramaḍán gain the mercy of God, those of the second ten merit His pardon ; whilst those of the last ten save those who do them from the punishment of hell. God has declared that Ramaḍán is a noble month, for is not one of its nights, the Laylatu'l-Qadr, better than a

thousand months? On that night Gabriel and the angels descended from heaven; till the morning breaks it is full of blessing. Its eloquent interpreter and its clearest proof is the Qur'án, the word of God most Gracious. Holy is God, who says in the Qur'án: 'This word of God comes down in the month of Ramaḍán.' This is a guide for men, a distinguisher between right and wrong. O Believers, in such a month be present; obey the order of your God and fast; but let the sick and the travellers substitute some other days on which to fast, so that no days be lost, and say: 'God is great!' and praise Him. God has made the fast easy for you. O Believers, God will bless you and us by the grace of the Holy Qur'án. Every verse of it is a benefit to us and fills us with wisdom. God is the Bestower, the Holy King, the Munificent, the Kind, the Nourisher, the Merciful, the Clement.¹

6. THE BAQAR-'ID.—This is the most important feast in the whole year. It is also called the 'Ídu'l-Adhá and the 'Ídu'd-Duhá, the feast of sacrifice. In Turkey and in Egypt it is called Bairám and in Persia the 'Íd-i-Qurbán. Its origin was as follows: A few months after the hijra or flight from Mecca, Muhammad, dwelling in Madína, observed that the Jews kept, on the tenth day of the seventh month, the great fast of the Atonement. The Prophet was informed that it was a memorial of the deliverance of Moses and the children of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh. 'We have a greater right in Moses than they,' said Muḥammad, so he fasted with the Jews and commanded his followers to fast also. This was at the period of his mission when Muḥammad was friendly with the Jews of Madína, who sometimes came to hear him preach. The Prophet also occasionally attended the synagogue. Then came the change of the Qibla from Jerusalem to

¹ *Khutbah-i-Mutarram*, p. 104.

Mecca, for the Jews were not so ready to change their creed as Muḥammad had at first hoped. In the second year of the hijra, Muḥammad and his followers did not participate in the Jewish fast, for the Prophet had now instituted the feast of the Baqar-‘íd. The idolatrous Arabs had been in the habit of making an annual pilgrimage to Mecca at this season of the year. The offering of animals in sacrifice formed a part of the concluding ceremony of that pilgrimage. That portion, the sacrifice of animals, Muḥammad adopted from the Pagan Arabs in the feast which now, at Madína, he substituted for the Jewish fast. Connected with verses establishing the Ḥajj are the following: ‘Ye may obtain advantages from the cattle up to the set time for slaying them ; then the place for sacrificing them is at the ancient house. . . . And the camels have we appointed you for the sacrifice to God : much good have ye in them. Make mention, therefore, of the name of God over them when ye slay them as in a vow’ (xxii. 34-7). This was well calculated to attract the attention of the Meccans and to gain the goodwill of the Arabs. Muḥammad could not, at that date, make the pilgrimage to Mecca ; for as yet there was a hostile feeling between the inhabitants of the two cities ; but on the tenth day of the month Dhú’l-Hijja, at the very time when the pagan Arabs at Mecca were engaged in sacrificing victims, Muḥammad went forth from his house at Madína, and assembling his followers, instituted the ‘Ídu’q-Ḍuḥá. Two young kids were brought before him. One he sacrificed and said: ‘O Lord! I sacrifice this for my whole people, all those who bear witness to

Thy unity and to my mission. O Lord! this is for Muḥammad and for the family of Muḥammad.'

Great merit is obtained by all who keep this feast. 'Áyisha relates how the Prophet once said:

Man hath not done anything on the 'Ídu'l-Aḍḥá more pleasing to God than spilling blood; for verily the animal sacrificed will come on the day of resurrection, and will make the scale of his good actions very heavy. Verily its blood reached the acceptance of God before it falleth upon the ground, therefore be joyful in it.'

Musalmán's say that the Patriarch Abraham was ordered to sacrifice Ishmael, and that he made several ineffectual attempts to cut the throat of his son. Ishmael then said to his father: 'It is through pity and compassion for me that you allow the knife to miss: blindfold yourself and then sacrifice me.' Abraham acted upon this advice, blindfolded himself, drew his knife, repeated the Bismilláh, and, as he thought, cut the throat of his son; but, behold, in the meantime Gabriel had substituted a sheep for the lad. This event is commemorated in this feast.

On the day before the feast, the 'arafa or vigil is kept. Food of various kinds is prepared, over which a fátiḥa is offered, first, in the name of the Prophet; second, in the names of deceased relatives, and of others for whom a blessing is desired, or from whom some favour is expected. The food is then sent as a present to friends.

On the morning of the feast-day, the devout Muslims proceed to the 'Íd-gáh, or, if there is no 'Íd-gáh, to the principal mosque, repeating on the way the takbír, 'God is great!' and 'There is no

rather God save the one true God: God is great, praise be to God.' At the time of making wađú', the worshipper should say: 'O God, make this (the sacrifice I shall offer to-day) an atonement for my sin, and purify my religion and take evil away from me.'

The service at the 'Íd-gáh or in the mosque consists of two farđ rak'ats, as in the şalátu'l-Jum'a, after the khuṭba is delivered. It will, however, be seen from the following sermon on the 'Ídu'd-Duḥá that it is mustaḥabb to say four more rak'ats.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

Alláhu Akbar! God is great! There is no god but God. God is great! God is great and worthy of all praise. He is holy. Day and night we should praise Him. He is without partner, without equal. Holy is He, who makes the rich generous, who provides the sacrifice for the wise. He is great, without an equal. All praise be to Him. Listen! I testify that there is no god but God. He is alone without partner. This testimony is as bright as the early dawn, as brilliant as the glorious feast-day. Muḥammad is His servant who delivered His message. On Muḥammad, and on his family, and on his Companions may the peace of God rest. On you who are present, O congregation of Muslimín, may the mercy of God for ever rest. O servants of God! our first duty is to fear God and to be kind. God has said: 'I will be with those who fear Me and are kind.'

Know, O servants of God! that to rejoice on the feast-day is the sign and mark of the pure and good. Exalted will be the rank of such in Paradise (Dáru'l-Qarár), especially on the day of resurrection will they obtain dignity and honour. Do not on this day foolish acts. It is no time for amusements and negligence. This is the day on which to utter the praises (tasbís) of God. Read the kalima, the takbír, and

the tamhíd. This is a high festival season and the feast of sacrifice. Read now the takbíru't-tashríq. God is great! God is great! There is no god but God! God is great! God is great! All praise be to Him! From the morning of the 'arafa, after every farḍ rak'at it is good (mustahabb) for a person to repeat the takbíru't-tashríq. It should be said at each namáz until the ṣalatu'l-'aṣr of the feast-day (10th).

Know, O believers, that every free man who is a Ṣáhibu'n-Niṣáb should offer sacrifice on this day, provided that this sum is exclusive of his horse, his clothes, his tools, and his household goods and slaves. It is wájib for every one to offer sacrifice for himself, but it is not a wájib order that he should do it for his children. A goat, a ram, or a cow should be offered in sacrifice for every seven persons. The victim must not be one-eyed, blind, lame, or very thin. If you sacrifice a fat animal, it will serve you well, and carry you across the Ṣirát. O believers, thus said the Prophet, on whom be the mercy and peace of God: 'Sacrifice the victim with your own hands: this was the sunna of Ibráhím, on whom be peace.'

In the book *Zádl'u't-Taqwá*, it is said that on the 'Idu'l-Fiṭr and the 'Idu'd-Ḍuhá, four nafl rak'ats should be said after the farḍ namáz of the feast. In the first rak'at after the Súratu'l-Fátiḥa recite the Súratu'l-Mursalát (lxxvii); in the second the Súratu'sh-Shams (xci); in the third, the Súratu'd-Ḍuhá (xciii); in the fourth, the Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii). O believers, if ye do so, God will pardon the sins of fifty years which are past, and of fifty years to come.

May God include us amongst those who are accepted by Him, who act according to the Law, whose desire will be granted at the last day. To all such there will be no fear in the day of resurrection: no sorrow in the examination at the day of judgment. The best of all books is the Qur'án. O believers! may God give to us and to you a blessing for ever by the grace of the noble Qur'án. May its verses be our guide, and may its wise mention of God direct us aright. I desire that God may pardon all believers, male and female, the Muslimín and the Muslimát. O believers, also seek for

pardon. Truly God is the Forgiver, the Merciful, the Eternal King, the Compassionate, the Clement. O believers, the *khutba* is over. Let all desire that on Muḥammad Muṣṭafá the mercy and peace of God may rest.

The worshippers then return to their respective homes and offer up the sacrifice, for it is a wájib order that every Muslim should keep this feast and sacrifice an animal for himself. He need not fear though he has to incur debt for the purchase of an animal, for it is said that God will in some way help him to pay the debt. The animal sacrificed must be without a blemish or defect of any kind. If the head of the house from any cause cannot slay, he may call in a butcher; but in that case he must place his hand upon that of the butcher when the operation is performed. When the victim is placed facing Mecca, and when its front legs are securely bound together, the sacrificer stands on its right side and plunges the knife into its throat with such force that the animal may fall at once. Any other mode of slaying it is unlawful. Just before slaying the victim the following verse of the Qur'án should be repeated: 'Say! my prayers and my worship,¹ and my life and my death are unto God, the Lord of the worlds. He hath no associate. This am I commanded, and I am the first of the Muslims' (vi. 163). The operator also adds: 'O God, from Thee and to Thee (I do this), in the name of God. God is great!' Then having slain the victim he says: 'O God, accept this for me.' The first meal taken should be prepared from the flesh of the

¹ Baiḍáwí interprets this as, 'All my worship, or my sacrifice, or my pilgrimage' (i. 317).

animal just slaughtered, after which the members of the family, the neighbours, and the poor should receive some portions.

It is highly meritorious to sacrifice one animal for each member of the family; but to save expense it is allowable to sacrifice one victim for the household. In extreme cases, men may combine together and make one sacrifice do for the whole, but the number of persons so combining must not exceed seventy. Some authorities limit the number to seven. This feast is strictly observed by all Muslims wherever they may be.

The Baqar-'Id and the 'Idu'l-Fiṭr constitute the 'Idain—the two great feasts of Islām. A country in which Musalmáns could not observe them both would at once become Dáru'l-Harb,¹ or House of Enmity, in which it would be the duty of every Muslim to join in a jihád against the Infidel rulers of the land.

This completes the account of the principal feasts of the Muslim year. Properly speaking, the Sunnis have only two festivals—the Baqar-'id, and the 'Idu'l-Fiṭr—but many others are now observed.

Among other practices borrowed from the Hindus, must be placed the pilgrimage made by Indian Musalmáns to the shrines of saints,² the ceremonies

¹ See Appendix B

² There is, however, some authority for this practice. Ibn Mas'úd relates the words of the Prophet thus: 'I had forbidden you to visit the graves; but now ye may visit them, for they detach your mind from this world and remind you of the world to come.' The Traditionist, Muslim, states that the Prophet wept at the grave of his mother, and said: 'I begged leave from my Lord to ask forgiveness for her, but it was not granted me: then I begged leave to visit her grave, and it was granted me: visit therefore the graves, for they remind you of death.'

connected with them, and the festivals instituted in their honour. The title of Pír given to a Musalmán devotee is equivalent to the term Guru amongst the Hindus. A man who seeks to be a 'religious' takes a Pír as a spiritual guide. 'Follow,' says the poet Walí, 'the footsteps of thy Pír like a shadow.' The Pírs, when alive, are frequently resorted to for a ta'wídh or charm, and the aid of their prayers is often invoked. After death they are venerated as Walís or Saints.¹ The sepulchre of a Walí is called a dargáh, shrine; mazár, place of pilgrimage; rauḍa, garden. The professional reciter of the Qur'án at such places is called Rauḍa Khán. As a rule, processions are made to the shrines, and flowers, sweet-meats and food over which a fátiḥa has been said are offered. Usually, the fátiḥa is for the saint, not to him. It is considered a very meritorious act to give land for the erection of such shrines and to endow them. An account of many of these Indian saints is given in the *Bára Masa* by Jawán and in the *Áráyish-i-Mahfil* by Afsos.

In the preceding chapters, I have endeavoured, from Muslim authorities of acknowledged repute, to set forth the main features of the Faith of Islám and the religious duties it enjoins. I might also describe the laws of Islám in detail² and

¹ A Walí is so called because God takes care of his concerns and also because he himself cares only for the things of God. Miracles should appear after his death, and if they do not, he is not a true Walí. He can transgress, but, if he does so, he repents at once.

² This is fully done by Klein, *Religion of Islám*, pp. 178-226

enlarge upon their moral and social effects, and the character they produce in the individual and the State.¹ But these subjects would lead me far beyond my present purpose, and so I must now content myself with having given a representation of the Faith of Islám from its own authorities.

¹ Muslims believe these effects to be 'perfect'. A number of Musalmáns held a meeting at Poona, in December, 1895, to consider whether they should take part with Hindus in a conference to consider the question of social reforms. It was resolved not to do so on this ground. 'In the face of the Qur'án, it is altogether needless for the Musalmáns to join in any purely sectional conference, for Islám is a perfect exponent of social emancipation and human progress in all its aspects.' *Madras Weekly Mail*, December 5, 1895.

APPENDIX A

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE TRADITIONS

I HAVE (*Ante* pp. 113-124) already given some account of the way in which Tradition grew, and of the rules laid down with regard to it. The modern progressive school of Muslim scholars places less reliance on the Traditions (Aḥādīth) than has hitherto been usual and prefers to look to the Qur'án alone as the authoritative source of law and dogma. I give some instances.

Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí in *Critical Exposition of Jihád* (ed. Calcutta, 1895), p. 65, deals with the Traditions regarding the killing of Abú 'Afak and says: 'It is very easy for biographers to give play to their fancies, or to fabricate commands which the Prophet had never given.' Other Traditions (pp. 62, 67, 73) are described as 'contradictions and conflicting', 'unblushing and fabulous', 'malevolent', 'one-sided and imperfect', 'spurious and fictitious'. The Traditionist Abú Sa'id is called 'a mere story teller' (p. 206). In *Reforms Under Moslem Rule* (ed. Bombay 1883) the same author says: 'The six standard collections of Traditions were compiled in the third century A.H., but the sifting was not based on any critical, historical or rational principles' (p. xix). 'False Traditions were foisted upon people to corroborate the acts of their rulers' (p. 4). Other Traditions are called 'misguiding and unreliable'; of one the authenticity is said to be of 'a questionable type' (pp. 53, 54) and so on with a whole mass of Traditions which contravene the author's views of the Sunna of the Prophet and of his (author's, adverse criticism of the Sharí'at. Thus, 'It is only the Moḥammadan Common Law, with all its Traditions, or oral sayings of the Prophet, very few of which are genuine reports, and the supposed chimerical concurrence of the learned Muslim doctors and mostly their analogical reasonings (called Ḥadīth, Ijmá' and Qiyás) passed under the name

of Fiqh or Shari'at, that has blended together the spiritual and the secular and has become a barrier regarding certain social and political innovations for the higher civilization and progress of the nation.' *Critical Exposition of the Jihad*, p. cii.

The Rt. Hon. Syed Amír 'Alí in *Personal Law of Mahomedans* (ed. London, 1881, pp. 9, 10) looking at the subject from the Shí'ah standpoint, speaking of the Sunnis, says: 'They regard the concordant decisions of the Khalífas and of the general assemblies (Ijma'-i-Ummat) as supplementing the Qur'anic rules and as almost equal in authority to them.' Of Traditions which thus form the basis of law, he says: 'They are considered to be authoritative and genuine, provided certain arbitrary conditions, framed with a view of testing the value of personal testimony, are complied with.' On the slaughter of the Baní Quraiza he says: 'In order to magnify the value of the spoil, the Traditions probably exaggerated these numbers.' [*Life of Mohammed* (ed. London, 1873), p. 113]. The story about Raihina is recorded by Ṭabarí (ed. de Goeje V series I, iii, 1495) and accepted by Ḥusain (*Tafsir-i-Ḥusani*, ii, 201); but Syed Amír 'Alí calls it a 'fabrication'. *Ibid* 114.

As-Syūṭi mentions a Tradition from Ibn 'Abbás derogatory to the Umayyads and in praise of the 'Abbásids and declares it to be 'a fabricated one'. *History of the Khalífas*, p. 227.

Sir 'Abdu'r-Raḥím in his valuable work *Muhammadian Jurisprudence* (ed. Madras 1911) says: 'Nothing has been a more fruitful source of conflicting opinions in matters of Law among the Sunnī jurists than the question whether a particular Tradition is to be regarded as genuine or not, although it may be one for whose authority one or more of these writers (Bukhárí and Muslim) may have vouchsafed' (p. 31). Again, speaking of the desire in early days to learn and store up every saying of the Prophet, he says: 'This very zeal gave rise to many a false and inaccurate Tradition, for 'Umar during his Calíphate, discouraged and even for some time forbade the reporting of Traditions' (p. 20).

The Umayyad and 'Abbásid Khalífas largely influenced the collectors of Tradition. Thus the Khalífa al-Mutawakkil, after suppressing the Mu'tazilis, 'summoned the Traditionist to Sámarra, gave them presents and *commanded* them to bring forward Traditions on the attributes of God and on the personal vision of Him at the day of judgement' (As-Syúti, *History of the Khalífas*, p. 360). Such Traditions would be used against the Mu'tazilis.

Ibn Khaldún (ii. 159 note) speaking of Tradition says: 'The Muslim doctors attach the greatest importance to it and used it to develop and complete the doctrines expounded in the Qur'án'; but he also speaks of Traditions as 'forged', as 'weak and confused', and of a Traditionist as one whose 'authority is weak and character well known.' *Ibid* pp. 160. 179, 189.

Muir's remarks on Tradition | *Life of Mahomet* (ed. London, 1861) vol. i] are of great value. It is impossible to summarize them, but I give a few quotations. Zuhri (d. A.H. 124) is reported to have said: 'I was averse to writing down knowledge' (Traditions) until these rulers (Khalífas) forced me to do so, then I saw that none of the Muslims should be forbidden to do so' (p. xxxiii). Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muhammad ibn Sa'id ibn Mání, known as the Kátibu'l-Wáqidí (Secretary of al-Wáqidí) says: 'The chiefest of the Companions, such as Abú Bakr, 'Uthmán and Talha gave fewer Traditions than the others. There did not issue from them anything like the number of Traditions that did from the younger Companions' (p. liii) yet these younger ones knew least of the early life of the Prophet. Sa'id ibn Abí Waqqás was asked a question. He did not reply to it but said: 'I fear that if I tell you one thing, you will go and add another' (p. lxxv). Traditions

¹ This accords with the fact that the Traditions, the basis of the oral Law, as distinguished from the written Law, the Qur'án, were not for a long time committed to writing. The Prophet is said to have forbidden it (*Musnad*, iii. 26). Persons were bidden to *read* the Qur'án and *teach* the practice (Sunna). One said: 'I have *read* the Qur'án and *heard* the Tradition' (Ṭabari ii. 1033), quoted by Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, p. 67.

recorded by Abú Huraira. Ibn 'Abbás. Anas bin Málík and 'Áyisha are very numerous.

Abú Huraira became a convert four years before Muḥam-mad's death, and so had only a short companionship and was a man of no importance; Ibn 'Abbás was fourteen years of age when the Prophet died and Anas was only nineteen. The older Companions were reticent lest mistakes should occur. Thus 'Umar said: 'If it were not that I feared lest I should add to the facts in relating them, or take therefrom, verily I would tell you' (*Moslem World*, v. 253). The two lads had no such fear but gave forth copious accounts. 'Áyisha had a long acquaintance with the Prophet, but she was a notorious partisan and so an untrustworthy witness. Abú Huraira's accuracy was challenged long ago. It is said to and of him, 'You are too copious.' 'Abú Huraira tells us too much.' 'There is no one who is more of a liar than Abú Huraira.' Abú Ḥanífa said that he used his own opinion about a Tradition recorded by Abú Huraira because 'he used to relate all he heard without respecting its meaning.'

The biographies of the Prophet are based on the Traditions. There is some reason for believing that Zuhri (d. A.H. 124) and 'Urwa (d. A.H. 94) collected matter for a biography which may have been used by later historians. 'Urwa's opportunity for such work was very limited² and anyhow it has been lost. There is no work by Zuhri now extant,³ but he is referred to by subsequent biographers. Ṭabarí refers to works by Músa ibn 'Uqba and Abú Mashar, who lived in the second century A.H.; but their writings are not now extant.

Ibn Isháq (d. A.H. 151) wrote a biography. Ibn Khaldún and Bukhárí speak favourably of his work.⁴ Ibn Hishám (d. A.H. 213) based his book on that of Ibn Isháq. In some

¹ The original authorities for these quotations will be found in the *Moslem World*, v. 361-3.

² *Moslem World*, v. 375.

³ On these two men, see opinions in Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, I. xxxiv, lxxxvii.

⁴ For adverse criticism, see Muir, I. xci, note.

respects he seems to have been lacking in candour. He omits all reference to Muḥammad's temporary lapse into idolatry, though Ṭabarī has a quotation from Ibn Ishāq regarding it. Wāqidī (d. A.H. 207) wrote under the influence of the 'Abbásid Khalífas. The Traditions recorded by him are considered of doubtful value. His secretary Kátibu'l-Wāqidī (d. A.H. 310) was a man of repute and his work is generally approved. He based his work on the biographies of Ibn Ishāq and of Wāqidī, which seems to show that they were looked upon as authorities.

It thus appears that there was no early or contemporary life of the Prophet. Even admitting that the biographers just referred to were laborious, painstaking, and honest in purpose, yet they had to rely on Tradition and worked under the great disadvantage of living long after the events they record. They are the best authorities now extant, yet the conditions under which they wrote detract from the value of their testimony to the authenticity of the Traditions.

There is not sufficient evidence to show that Traditions were committed to writing during the life time of the Prophet, or for a long time after; but as the empire grew and unforeseen circumstances arose, for which no provision had been made in the Qur'án, Tradition assumed great importance as a basis of law and politics. Revelation was the foundation for these and for religious dogma, hence as something more than the Qur'án was needed, the necessity arose for Tradition, the uninspired record of the inspired sayings of the Prophet. So the Umayyad Khalifa 'Umar II (A.H. 99) issued circular orders for the formal collection of Traditions. The work was entrusted to Abú Bakr ibn Muḥammad (d. A.H. 120), to whom the following instruction was given, 'Look out (at Madína) for whatever Traditions there are of Muḥammad, or of the by-gone Sunna, or of any Traditions of Amara, daughter of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, and commit them to writing for verily I fear the obliteration of knowledge (Tradition) and the departure (death) of those possessing it' (Katibu'l-Wāqidī, p. 158, quoted by Muir, I xxxiii). It thus appears that previously they had not been recorded in writing. The Com-

panions may have kept some memoranda of what the Prophet said, but it seems impossible to trace any Tradition to such a written source and the collection made in the reign of Umar II is, so far as is known, the earliest written record. Granted that the Arab memory was good, yet it is impossible to suppose that errors did not creep in. Then the temptation to confirm political measures, to silence religious opponents, and to support the claim of one against another was so strong and so prevalent that a vast mass of spurious Traditions became current. Abú Dá'úd out of 500,000 Traditions received only 4,800 and these he classes 'as those which seem to be authentic and those which are nearly so' (*Ibn Khallikān*, i. 590). These facts seem to justify the views of the modern Muslim authorities which I have already quoted, and to show that the Traditions form a weak basis for the superstructure of law and dogma which has been erected on them. That superstructure however remains and the undermining of it would seem to be likely to render it unstable and to endanger the great Islámic system of the past and present.¹

¹ The student who wishes to investigate this subject still further, should study Professor Margoliouth's account of 'The Legal Supplement'. (*The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, chapter iii). A few extracts will show the value of it. 'The inherent weaknesses of this second source of law are, of course, two. In the first place we look in vain for evidence that exhaustive records of the Prophet's sayings and doings were kept. In the second place the memories of those who transmitted Tradition were weak' (p. 79). 'One principle which is too deeply ingrained in these works ever to be forgotten is that only oral tradition counts; written documents must be cited from memory, not from the text' (p. 87). 'The study, therefore, of the development of jurisprudence is exceedingly complicated; for the maxims ascribed to the Prophet seem in numerous cases to be little more than a summary of existing practice' (p. 91). No amount of acuteness can compensate for the fundamental weakness of the system, the possibility that any text of the Qur'án may have been abrogated, and the liability of any Tradition to be questioned' (p. 93).

APPENDIX B

THE LAW OF JIHÁD

THE subject of jihád,¹ or sacred war, does not properly belong to the questions considered in this book ; but the method in which some of the more enlightened Indian Muslims deal with it is worthy of notice. The statements of Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí, in his learned work, *Critical Exposition of the Law of Jihád*, further illustrate what I have said about them (p. 273). I shall now briefly state the case, and then show how a liberal-minded Muslim writer deals with it.

There are two great divisions of the world—Dáru'l-Islám, where Muslim law and rule are supreme, and Dáru'l-Ḥarb, where non-Muslims exercise supreme authority. Strictly speaking, Muslims in a Dáru'l-Ḥarb should fight ; but as this is in most cases difficult to do, the law doctors have laid down certain conditions under which a Dáru'l-Ḥarb becomes, for all practical purposes, a Dáru'l-Islám, and so a place where Muslims can live in peace. Speaking generally, a country is regarded as Dáru'l-Islám when the public prayers, the namáz, are said without let or hindrance, and the two great feasts, the 'Īdu'l-Fiṭr and the 'Īdu'l-Aḏḥá, are openly celebrated.

There are verses in the Qur'án which speak kindly of Jews and Christians, but these have been abrogated by later ones.² Thus, the verse : ' They who follow the Jewish religion and the Christian and the Sabeites, whoever of them believeth in

¹ A Tradition recorded by 'Áyisha says : ' I sought permission from the Prophet to join in jihád : he said . " Your jihád is the Ḥajj . " All his wives made the same request. The reply was, " The jihád for women is the Ḥajj " (*Faiḍu'l-Bárl* ii. 184). Apparently they could go to a battle with their husbands, but were not to fight, for Muḥammad's wives were present at the battle of Ḥunain. Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, p. 196.

² On this point, see *The Historical Development of the Qur'án* (ed. 3rd), pp. 215-31.

God and the last day and doeth what is right, shall have their reward with their Lord : fear shall not come upon them, nor shall they be grieved ' (ii. 59), is said to have been abrogated by ' Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám, that religion shall not be accepted from him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost ' (iii. 79). So also, ' Dispute not, unless in kindly sort, with the people of the book (i.e. Jews and Christians) save with such as have dealt wrongfully with you ' (xxix. 45), is abrogated by the famous ' verse of the sword '—' When the sacred months are passed, kill those who join gods with God, wherever ye find them, and besiege them and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush ; but, if they repent and observe prayer and pay the obligatory alms, then let them go their way ' (ix. 5). Other verses which inculcate the duty of jihád are : ' Fight for the cause of God ' (ii. 245), and ' O Believers ! what possessed you that, when it was said to you " March forth on the way of God," ye sank heavily downwards ? What ! prefer ye the life of this world to the next ? ' (ix. 38).

The duty, being based on clear texts of the Qur'án, is then a farḍ one, that is, one incumbent on all.¹ The law-books are also clear on the point. In the *Hidáya* we read, ' The destruction of the sword is incurred by the infidels, although they be not the first aggressors.' The *Kifáya*, a commentary on the *Hidáya*, is plainer still : ' Fighting against the infidels who do not become converts to Islám and do not pay the capitation tax is incumbent, though they do not first attack.' This is supported by the text, ' Fight against them till strife

¹ This also seems to govern the question of the death penalty for apostasy. ' The Mohammedan community being in a sense Alláh's army apostasy deserved the punishment of death in no lesser degree than desertion in the holy war, nay more so, for the latter might be the effect of cowardice, whereas the latter was an act of inexcusable treachery.' (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p. 141). ' Apostasy from Islám to infidelity places the apostate outside the protection of law . . . if even before the chance of re-embracing the Faith has been given to him, a Muslim kills an apostate, it would be considered an improper act, but he would incur no penalty of the law ' Sir 'Abdu'r-Rahím, *Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, p. 253.

be at an end, and the religion be all of it God's' (viii. 40).¹ The Sair-i-Qabîr, a Turkish law-book, states it to be the duty of the Sultân 'to see that the Musalmán frontiers are never lessened,² that the infidels are called upon to embrace Islám, that true believers are urged to strive in the jihád.'³

The summons to jihád must be based on a legal foundation, and one leading principle is that the country in which it takes place should be Dáru'l-Ḥarb. This has led to much controversy. Some years ago, preachers of a jihád gave much trouble in India, and quiet orderly Musalmáns, who did not wish to rebel, and yet found it difficult to resist the religious obligation resting upon them, at last met the difficulty, not by disputing the lawfulness of jihád in the abstract, but by denying that India was a country in which it could lawfully be made. The subject was duly considered and authoritative decisions were arrived at. Two distinct sets of legal opinions have been given by the Sunní authorities and set forth by the Muḥammadan Literary Society of Calcutta. One set of Maulavís decide that India is Dáru'l-Ḥarb, the other that it is Dáru'l-Islám, and then curiously enough both parties declare that jihád in it is quite unlawful. Those who say it is Dáru'l-Ḥarb maintain that, as Muslims in India enjoy full religious liberty *and have no strength to fight*, jihád is not lawful. The following is this fatwá, dated July 17, 1870:—

'The Musalmáns here are protected by Christians, and there is no jihád in a country where protection is afforded, as the absence of protection and liberty between Musalmáns and infidels is essential in a religious war, and that condition does not exist here; besides, it is necessary that there should

¹ Baiḍáwí (i. 367) explains this as لا يوجد فيهم شرك وتضمحل عنهم الاديان الباطلة 'Till there is no polytheism found in them and vain religions are weakened by them.'

² *Ante*, p. 121.

³ 'The Muslims cannot do without an Imám who shall occupy himself with the enforcing of their decisions, and in maintaining their boundaries and guarding their frontiers, and equipping their armies . . . and maintaining the Friday services and the Festivals' (An-Nasafí, quoted in Macdonald's *Muslim Theology*, p. 313).

be a possibility of victory to Musalmáns and glory to the Indians. If there be no such probability, the jihád is unlawful.'

The second condition—a probability of victory—leaves the question open, and guards the Maulavís from the charge of weakness in declaring jihád unlawful. It is not legal *now*; that is all they assert. The question was also referred not to the Khalífa of Islám, but to the leaders in Mecca of the three principal Sunní schools of law. The question was thus put:—

'What is your opinion (may your greatness continue for ever) on this question: Whether the country of Hindustan, the rulers of which are Christians, and who do not interfere with all the injunctions of Islám, such as the ordinary daily prayers, the prayers of the 'Íds; but do authorize departure from a few of the injunctions of Islám, such as the permission to inherit the property of the Muḥammadan ancestor to one who changes his religion and becomes a Christian, is Dáru'l-Islám or not? Answer the above, for which God will reward you.'

The Muftí of Mecca, the head of the Hanífí school, answered:—

'As long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islám prevail in it, it is the Dáru'l-Islám.'

The Muftí of the Sháfi'í school said:—

'Yes, as long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islám prevail in it, it is Dáru'l-Islám.'

The Muftí of the Málíki school said:—

'It is written in the commentary of Dasokí that a country of Islám does not become Dáru'l-Ḥarb as soon as it passes into the hands of the infidels, but only when all or most of the injunctions of Islám disappear therefrom.'

They all call India Dáru'l-Islám, but they carefully abstain from saying whether jihád is lawful or not. Apparently they still leave it an open question.

The Calcutta Muḥammadan Society has gone further, and has definitely stated that jihád can by no means be lawfully

made in a Dáru'l-Islám, which they declare India to be. They support their position by a reference to the *Fatáwá-i-Alamgírí*, which states the conditions under which a Dáru'l-Islám becomes a Dáru'l-Ḥarb. They are :—

'(1) When the rule of infidels is openly exercised, and the ordinances of Islám are not observed.'

'(2) When it is in such contiguity to a country which is Dáru'l-Ḥarb that no city of Dáru'l-Islám intervenes between that country and Dáru'l-Ḥarb.'

'(3) That no Musalmán is found in the enjoyment of religious liberty, nor a Dhimmí (an infidel who has accepted the terms of permanent subjection to Musalmán rule) ¹ under the same terms as he enjoyed under the government of Islám.' ²

The question is, however, in an unsatisfactory state, for one well-known legal authority lays down the law thus :—

'When a country of Islám falls into the hands of the infidels, it remains a country of Islám, if the infidels retain Muḥammadan governors and Muḥammadan judges, and do not introduce their own regulations.'

According to this theory, India is Dáru'l-Ḥarb. In any case, the uncertainty of the law and the varying fatwás afford great opportunity to fanatics to give trouble to the ruling Power, and to peaceably-minded Muḥammadans.

¹ That includes the payment of the jizya, or poll-tax. It is paid by Jews and Christians of any country, and by idolaters, provided they do not come from Arabia. Idolaters in or from Arabia had to choose between Islám and the sword. Maulavi Cheragh 'Ali considers that the Law on this point is altogether wrong, being based on texts of the Qur'án which had reference to local matters only. (See *Critical Exposition of the Jihád*, p. 159). This is not the orthodox view of the range of a Qur'anic order.

² These fatwás are given in Sir W. W. Hunter's work, *Our Indian Musalmáns* (ed. London, 1872) pp. 217-19. Modern political changes have made jihád much less probable, and the proclamation of one by the Khalífa in Constantinople during the Great War proved to be an utter failure.

This difficulty is, however, got rid of by the latest attempt to deal with the subject. Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí¹ maintains that all the wars of Muḥammad were defensive, and that no argument for jihád can be deduced from the Qur'án at all.² This is delightfully simple, and if the 'Ulamá of Constantinople, and the learned professors in the great college of al-Azhar in Cairo, would discard Abú Hanífa and his teaching, and cast away their legal text-books, it would, no doubt, be a blessing to many a land and many a home. I have already shown³ this writer's attitude towards the canonical law, and so I need now quote only the following statement: 'All the fighting injunctions in the Qur'án are, in the first place, only for self-defence, and none of them has any reference to making war offensively. In the second place, they are transitory in their nature. The Muḥammadan Common Law is wrong on this point where it allows unbelievers to be attacked without provocation.'⁴

Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí next deals with the meaning of the word jihád itself. It is said that the classical meaning of jahada and jáhada is that a person 'laboured vigorously,' and that the meaning of 'fighting an enemy' is a post-classical and technical one. The classical age⁵ is that of the poets before the time of Muḥammad, after whose death foreign words crept in and the language became more or less corrupt. It is maintained that jahd, jihád, and their derivatives are to be rendered according to the classical usage of the

¹ *Reforms under Moslem Rule*, pp. 16-17. I regret to say that this highly cultured and liberal-minded Muḥammadan gentleman, Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí of Haidarábád, died in the year 1895. He was one of the ablest men of the new school of Muslims in India.

² Verses 40 and 41 of Súratu'l-Ḥajj (xxii) are sometimes quoted to show that jihád is purely defensive, but the passage is of local, not general application. The orthodox commentators deduce from it the eternal obligation of jihád. See *The Historical Development of the Qur'án* (3rd ed.), p. 136, the *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, ii. 71, and the *Khulásatu't-Tafásir*, iii. 247-8.

³ *Ante*, pp. 273-4.

⁴ *Critical Exposition of the Jihád*, p. 116.

⁵ Muslim writers call this 'the days of ignorance'.

term, when it would not mean 'fighting in warfare,' for which the Arabic words *ḥarab* and *qitāl* do service. *Jahd* and its derivatives occur in thirty-six verses. Setting aside those which cannot possibly refer to war, the rest are said to be of two kinds. First, those which occur in the Meccan *Súras*, and second, those in the *Súras* which were delivered at *Madína*. Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí asserts that those in the second class, which are generally interpreted to mean 'fighting,' should be used in the sense of 'strenuous exertion,' as is done in the earlier *Súras*. 'I fully admit,' he says, 'that in the post-classical language of the Arabs, the word *jihád* was used to signify warfare;' but 'the subsequent corrupt or post-classical language cannot be accepted as a final or even a satisfactory authority upon the point.'¹ The argument used is that a purely conventional meaning of the word *jihád* came into use after the time of Muḥammad, and that the Canonical Legists have affixed that meaning to the word in the *Qur'án*, and so have built up an entirely wrong system.

A careful analysis of all the texts bearing on the subject is made. Some present great difficulties, but it is laid down as a principle of interpretation that those which seem to declare the duty of *jihád* must be read in connection with other passages in which the permission or the call to fight is only conditional. Thus: 'When two commandments, one conditional and the other general or absolute, are found on the same subject, the conditional is to be preferred, and the absolute should be construed as conditional.'²

It is further stated that the wars of Muḥammad were defensive, and that, therefore, the verses referring to them 'are strictly temporary and transitory in their nature,' for the circumstances were purely local. The ninth *Súra*, the fifth verse of which enjoins the killing of polytheists wherever they are found, is generally supposed to have been given, at the end of the ninth year of the *Hijrá*, but Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí, in opposition to Nöldeke, one of the greatest

¹ *Critical Exposition of the Jihád*, p. 168.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

Qur'anic scholars, considers that the opening verses were delivered in the eighth year, while Muḥammad was marching against Mecca, and that, therefore, they have a limited and local application, and not a general one forming a rule for all time.¹

The next step in this most recent treatment of the subject is to substitute other readings for some of the words in the Qur'án.² The verse, 'Whoso fight for the cause of God, their works He will not suffer to miscarry' (xlvii. 5), is disposed of by the suggestion of another reading, *Qutílú*—'those who are killed' (or fought)—for the word in the text, *Qáttalu*—'those who kill or fight.'³ If this explanation is not accepted, then it must be interpreted by other verses

¹ This is very ingenious, but does not agree with the views of commentators who hold that the words 'kill the polytheists wherever ye shall find them' (ix. 5) abrogates verses of a more liberal nature, such as 'To you be your religion, to me my religion' (cix. 6), (*Tafsir-i-Husaini*, ii. 476). So also words exactly similar to these of Súra ix. 5 in Súra ii. 151 abrogate the verse 'Let there be no compulsion in religion' (ii. 257) (See *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, i. 48). Again, the verse, 'Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you' (ii. 186) is quoted in support of the view that the wars of Muḥammad were defensive only, but Baiḍawí (i. 103) says that the order was given at the time of the Hudaibiya affair. From a military point of view, the position of the Muslim force was one of danger. It was excellent tactics to remain on the defensive. The application of the verse was, therefore, local not general at the time, but it has been abrogated by the verse ix. 5. (*Tafsir-i-Husaini* i. 32) and need no longer be heeded. Thus it matters little whether Súra ix was delivered in the eighth or the ninth year of the Hijra, for a stern verse of it which abrogates those of a gentler character remains as a permanent injunction. For the duty of making war on Christians and Jews, see Súra ix. 30 a verse which cannot possibly be defined as of a limited and local application. For the views of Muslim commentators on this verse see Sell, *The Historical Development of the Qur'an* (ed. 3rd) p. 215 et seq.

² *Critical Exposition of the Jihád* p. 156.

³ The reading 'those who are killed' (قُتِلُوا) is adopted by the Ráwí Hafs, who has recorded the qirát of 'Āṣim of Kúfa. The Qáris Abú 'Umar also supports this reading. All the rest of the Qáris are against it, and support the text, 'Those who kill or fight,' (قَاتِلُوا) which has, therefore, overwhelming authority in its favour. See also Baiḍawí, ii. 261.

which mean fighting in self-defence, such as, 'Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but commit not the injustice of attacking them first' (ii. 186). This is the standard text to which all doubtful passages must be brought, and however difficult it may be to do so, they must, according to Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí, be interpreted in connexion with it.

In order still further to prove the defensive character of the wars of Muḥammad, a different reading of another verse is adopted. For 'have fought'—*Yuqáttilúna*,—the words 'have been fought'—*Yuqátalhum*—are substituted, so that the verse reads not 'a sanction is given to those who fight', but 'a sanction has been given to those who have been fought' (xxii. 40). The passive form is adopted by the Qáris Náfí of Madína, Ibn 'Ámír of Syria and Ḥafṣ, the Ráwí of 'Áṣim of Kúfa.¹ All the other Qáris retain the active form. In the commentary of Jalálu'd-Dín, this very verse is quoted as the first verse which descended from heaven to authorize jihád, so that there is good authority for *Yuqáttilúna*—'have fought.' However, it is only fair to say that Maulaví Cherágh 'Alí does not rest his case on a disputed reading, and the loss of the support he thought he had from these two verses will not affect it much.

Such is a very brief outline of the ablest work on jihád, which I have yet seen. It is undoubtedly the best position for enlightened Musalmáns to adopt, although it brings them into conflict with all the canonists of preceding ages, and with the views of commentators and theologians of all the various sects.

¹ Baiḍáwí (i. 234) gives the text thus, يقاتلون (المشركين) and the other reading thus, يقاتلهم (المشركون).

INDEX

'ABBAS EFFENDI, 204
 Ablutions (see Waḍú')
 Abrogation, 101-9
 'Abú Bakr, 12, 28, 126, 133
 Abú Sufyán, 126
 Alimadiyya, sect of, 224
 Akhîr-i-chár Shamba, 425
 'Alam, 419
 'Alí, 26; proclaimed khalifa, 127.
 death of, 129, Muḥammad's
 opinion of, 134; memorials of,
 421
 Almsgiving (see Zakát)
 Anbiyá' Ulú'l-'Azm, 293
 Angels, 279-86; as intercessors, 279;
 Kirámu'l-Kâtibín, 280; Hárút
 and Márút, 281-4, Munkar and
 Nakír, 283
 Apostasy, 341
 'A'raf, 285, 320
 'Arafa, 425
 Architecture, 223
 Arkánu'd-dín, 355
 Ash'arí, 249; influence of 250;
 doctrines of, 251
 Ash'arians, 252, 331-2
 Aṣháb, 11
 'Ashúr Khana, 418
 Asmá'u's-Ṣifát, 254
 Asmá'u'l-Ḥusna, 254
 Áthár Khána, 427
 Átháru'sh-sharíf, 427
 Attributes (see Ṣifát)
 Averhoes, 349
 Ayyámu't-tashrîq, 344
 Ávat, 94
 BAB, call of, 188; controversy
 with, 191; condemnation to
 death of, 193; character of, 195

Bábís, sect of, 184, persecutions
 of, 196, divisions of, 199; doc-
 trines of, 203; mission of (in
 America), 205; prospects of,
 208
 Balances, 316
 Baqar-'id, 435
 Bárá Wafát, 427
 Barzakh, 285, 321
 Bahá'ulláh, 199; claims of, 198;
 writings of, 199-203; death of,
 204. appearance of, 207
 Bid'at, 29, 238, 429
 Books (sacred), number of, 288;
 attestation of Qur'án to, 289.
 rejection of, 290; not corrupted,
 291-2
 Books (of account), descent of,
 314, given to person judged, 315
 Bridge (see Ṣirát)
 CHRIST JESUS, rank of, 293,
 immaculate conception of, 294;
 Second advent of, 325; sinless, 305
 Companions (see Aṣháb)
 Creed, 227
 DALALAT, 93
 Dáru'l-Harh, 448, 451
 Dáru'l-Islám, 448, 452
 Darwishes, 165; doctrines of, 167;
 initiation of, 168-9
 Dhikr, 166
 Dhimmí, 2
 Du'á', 85, 376
 FAITH (see Imán)
 Farḍ, basis of, 355
 Farú', 233
 Fasting (see Roza)
 Fatra, 6, 413

- Fiqh, 61
 Followers (see Tábi'ún)
 Fuqaha, 61
 GABRIEL, 6, 30, 67, 71
 Gházálí, 348
 Ghusl, 360
 God, Wahhabi conception of, 216-19; Mu'tazala view of, 242; attributes of, 237; vision of, 243; names of, 253; Qur'anic proof of attributes of, 256
 HADID, 325
 Hádith (see Traditions)
 Háfiẓ, 74
 Hájj, 228; obligation of, 399, details of, 400; time of, 401, value of, 410; weakness of, 410-11
 Hanbal, 42
 Hanífa, 37
 Haqíqat, 91
 Harám, definition of, 357
 Harf, 93
 Hasan, 129
 Hearing (Sama'), 230
 Heaven, 326
 Hell, 327
 Húrís, 20
 Hyát, 229
 'IBADIYA, 134
 'Ibádat, 163
 'Ibárat, 92
 Idolatry, 229
 'Ídu'l-Aḍhá, 433
 'Ídu'ḡ-Ḍuḥá, 433
 'Ídu'l-Fiṭr, 429; sermon on, 432
 Ifṭár, 431
 'Ijtihád, its origin, 34; limitation of, 48; importance of, 49; full account of, 60-6
 'Ijmá', 32; a basis of law, 37; authority of, 44
 'Ijmá'u'l-Ummat, 33, 55
 Ilhám, 67-8
 'Ilmu'l-Uṣūl, 67
 Imám, as legists (lesser Imáms), 37, 132; as Pontiffs (greater Imáms) appointed by God, 135; immaculate, 137; character of, 137
 Imámat, doctrine of, 133
 Imámítes, 138
 Imán, 227-8
 Inspiration, kinds of, 68; methods of, 71-2
 Iqtidá, 93
 Ishárat, 93
 Islám, foundations of, 1, 56; a theocracy, 51, 124; unprogressive, 58; isolation of, 106; failure of, 277
 Ismá'ílians, 139
 Isnád, 114
 Istidlál, 93
 Istikhára, 219
 Istisqá', 383
 I'tikaf, 431
 JABARIANS, 254, 330
 Jashn-i-milád-i-Sharíf, 427
 Jihád, a farḍ duty, 449; fatwás on, 451; modern explanation of, 453
 Jinn, 20, 286-7
 Jizya, 331
 KA'BA, 336
 Kalám, 230, 234; disputes about, 259
 Kalima, words, 94; creed, 227
 Kasb, 252
 Kauthar, 325, 424
 Khadíja, 4
 Khafí, 89
 Khalífa Sultan not, 146
 Khalífate, 145-150
 Khaṣṣ, 84
 Khawárij, 128
 Khulafá'u'r-Ráshidún, 36, 113
 Khuṭba, 148, 377, 432, 436
 Kinayáh, 92
 LAW, finality of, 46; sacred and secular, 57
 Laylatu'l-Barát, 427

Laylatu'l-Qadr, 3, 430

Laukhu'l-Mahfuz 82, 429

MADHHAB, 37, 45, 55, 77

Mahdi, disappearance of, 138, return of, 139; pretenders, 141; communication with, 187, 224

Majdhuzh, 163

Majaz, 92

Mukalaf, 60

Miracles, 308

Mi'raj, 309

Mirza Yahya, 197; exiled to Cyprus, 199, appearance of, 207, death of, 207

Mounts Safa and Marwa, 406

Mu'adhdhin, 354

Mu'akkada, 375

Muawwal, 85

Mufassar, 88

Mufassir, 61

Muhaddithun, 61

Muhammad, words and deeds of, 21, 22. an ideal Arab, 27. inspiration of, 70-3; sin of, 302; case of Zaid's wife, 303; miracles of, 307-9; night ascent of, 307, as intercessor, 323

Muharram, preparation for, 418; ceremonies of, 419

Muhkam, 88, 234-5

Mujassimians, 254

Mujaz, 92

Mujmal, 88

Mujtahid, 34, 47, 63

Musalli, 366

Muqallid, 54

Mushabites, 255

Mushkil, 88

Mustarak, 85

Mutakallim, 346

Mu'takif, 430

Mutashabih, 91, 234-6

Mu'tazilis, origin of, 241; dogmas of, 240, 243; growing power of, 245; persecution of, 247; over-

throw of, 248, 267; rise of modern school of, 270-6

NABI, 299

Nafi, 373

Namaz (see Salat)

Naqq, 8

Nur-i-Muhammadi, 20, 135

PHILOSOPHY (Muslim), 244

Power (Qudrat), 230

Prayer (see Salat)

Predestination, 329; views on, 330

Mu'tazila views of, 335; influence of, 339; Tradition on, 339

Primal Will, 201

Prophets, 292; rank of, 293; inspiration of, 297; sinlessness of, 300, sinfulness of, 301; miracles of, 306

QABIH, 357

Qadam-i-Rasul, 427

Qadar, 254

Qadarians, 254, 330

Qadianis (see Ahmadiyya Sect)

Qari, 77

Qir'at, 14, 71-2

Qiyas, 52-4; illustrations of, 53

Qur'an, revelation of, 3; brought by Gabriel, 7, a miracle, 8; text of, 11; editions of, 13-14; influence of, 16; lost chapter of, 17; sources of, 19-20; inspiration of, 6, 68; revelation of, 71; effects of, 73; dialects of, 75, 77; various readings of, 78; 413; style of, 80-1; use (isti'mal) of words of, 85, 91; sentences of, 87; verses of, 87; chapters of, 96; divisions of, 99, 378; abrogation of verses of, 101-9; additions to, 109; eternal disputes as to nature of, 245-6; names of, 288; its attestation of previous scriptures, 292

Qurratu'l-'Ain, 192-3

- RAK'AT**, 99
Rakú', 99
Ramaḍán, 70 ; fasting in, 391 ; fast
Rasmu'l-khaṭṭ, 94 [of, 42
Ráwí, 70
Resurrection, 310-14 . events pre-
ceding, 310 ; events connected
with, 312-19
Roza, 391
ŠABIANS, 104, 429
Sadaqa, 396
Salhari, 395
Šalát, 228, 257 ; ablutions preced-
ing, 257 ; form of, 364-75 ; times
of, 375 ; degrees of obligation,
371 ; various occasions of, 332,
374-90 ; fatwá on, 348-52
Šarīḥ, 92
Šaum (see **Roza**)
Šáfi'i, 41, 44
Šarī'at, 49
Šaikhís, 185 ; creed of, 186
Shauṭ, 339
Ši'ahs, origin of, 125 ; creed of,
137 ; divisions of, 138 ; differ
from **Sunnís**, 144
Širk, 216 ; kinds of, 216-19
Sifat, 237 ; varieties of, 256-9
Sifátians, 229, 251, 253, 240
Siháhu's-Sitta, 31
Sin, 251, Greater and lesser, 300
Sipára, 98
Šíráṭ, 20, 318
Subḥ-i-Ezel (see **Mírzá Yahya**)
Súfism, 151 ; principles of, 152-4 ;
esoteric teaching of, 157 ; stages
of, 160 ; end of, 162 ; aids to,
163 ; weakness of, 164
Šúḥúfu'l-Anbiyá', 235
Sultán (as **Khalífa**), 145-50
Suana, nature of, 21 ; importance
of, 124
Súrá, 96
TA'AWWUZ, 367
Taba'u't-Tábi'in, 33, 83
Tábi'un, 33, 83
Tahríf, 291
Takbír, 99-100
Tanzih, 238
Taqíya, 143
Taqlid, 54
Tasbīh, 238
Tashahhud, 228, 357, 294
Tashbīh, 193
Tasmiya, 367
Tauḥíd, 229
Tawáf, 404
Tayammum, 361
Tiláwat, 100
Traditions, 22 ; nature of, 113 ;
collections of, 116-19 ; classifica-
tion of, 120-2 ; abrogation of,
123, authenticity of, 442
Trinity (Holy), false notion of, 294
Trumpets (sounding of), 312
'UMAR, 26, 28, 46, 103, 126
'Umar Khayyám, 172, 183 ; **Rubá-**
iyát of, 173-82
'Umra, 401
'Urf, 49
'Uruj, 163
'Usharí, 329
'Uṣúl, 233
WADU', 357
Wahhábís, 23, 50
Wahhábism, origin of, 209-10 ;
chiefs of, 212 ; decadence of,
213 ; in India, 214 ; dogmas of,
216-19 ; idea of God, 221 re-
sult of, 222
Wahí, 57-8
Wájib, duties of, 356
Wáqi'a Khán, 420
Will, 230
Witr, 372
ZAHIR, 87
Záid, 13, 72
Zakát, 228, 396
Zamzam, 339
Záwiya, 166

LIST OF VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'AN

Súratu'l-Fátihā i			Verse			Page
Verse		Page	285-6	...		387
5	...	98	292	...		328
Súratu'l-Baqara ii			Súratu 'Alī 'Imrān iii			
1-4	...	387	2	...		290
15	...	29	5	...	86,	235
19	...	25	6	...		386
21	...	35 ²	24	...		322
23	...	32	28	...		279
27	...	38	30	...		295
28	...	153, 279	48	...		70
32	...	88	52	...		306
33	...	27	68	...		289
40	...	396	72	...		291
45	...	324	78	...		295
59	...	449	79	...	104, 290,	449
77	...	396	90	...		402
91	...	7	102	...		313
95	...	289	106	...		33
96	...	28 ²	120	...		279
100	...	20, 102	153	...		406
109	...	104	159	...		257
113	...	327	167	...		227
118	...	133	Súratu'n-Nisá' iv			
119	...	111	11	...		327
130	...	290	19	...		17
139	...	105, 429	81	...		336
151	...	160	84	...		70
153	...	406	90	...		91
179-81	...	391	94	...		93
180	...	394	97	...		109
181	...	429, 430	102-3	...		381
192	...	395, 402	156	...		295
193	...	401	158	...		325
233	...	92	162	...		18
245	...	449	169	...	294,	295
254	...	387	Súratu'l-Má'ida v			
256	...	217, 256, 324	5	...	96,	246
285	...	295	8	...		358

-462 LIST OF VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'AN

Verse		Page		Súratu'l-Anfál viii		
9	...	362		Verse	Page	
16	...	291		11	...	363
18	...	136, 291		20	...	26
35	...	342		40	...	450
42	...	89				
47	...	290			Súratu't-Tauba ix	
48	...	290		5	...	108, 449
51	...	290		25-6	...	398
52	...	109		29	...	23
56	...	26, 105		30	...	244
69	...	93		47	...	398
92	...	229		49	...	301
96	...	402		60	...	107, 398
				73	...	326
	Súratu'l-An'am vi			103	...	304
9	...	71		104	...	384
35	...	257		114	...	333
36	...	334		120	...	334
38	...	38				
39	...	334			Súratu Yúnas x	
59	...	38		63	...	298
61	...	280				
71	...	229			Súratu Húd xi	
93	...	278		1	...	264
100	...	20		9	...	20
103	...	257		16	...	262
127	...	326		49	...	301
149	...	336		59	...	104
150	...	334		116	...	300, 372
163	...	438		120	...	286, 334
164	...	243		121	...	263
	Súratu'l-A'ráf vii				Súratu Yúsuf xii	
7-8	...	316		3	...	264
10-24	...	301		9	...	20
20	...	24		29	...	302
22	...	31		64	...	239
44	...	20, 320		103	...	246
139	...	243		104	...	73
142	...	69		187	...	181
150	...	239				
15	...	18			Súratu'r-R'ad xiii	
171	...	334		3	...	35
179	...	250		8	...	307
190	...	306				

LIST OF VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'ÁN 463

Verse		Page	Verse		Page
13	...	279	36	...	294
34	...	307	68	...	313
39	...	103	72	...	327
	Súratu Ibráhím xiv		72-3	...	319
4	...	257		Súratu Tá Há xx	
32	...	257	57	...	388
38	...	229	112	..	82
49	...	312	130	..	107, 371
	Súratu'l-Hijr xv			Súratu'l-Anbiyá' xxi	
18	...	287	19-20	...	279
26-7	...	286	22	...	232
44	...	20, 326	83	...	239
	Súratu'n-Nahl xvi		91	..	294
38	...	333	104	...	280
46	...	83	105	..	18
91	...	38		Súratu'l-Ijajj xxii	
103	...	101	27	...	404
104	...	7	34-7	..	434
	Súratu Bani Isrá'íl xvii		40	...	456
1	...	20, 309	73	...	258
14	...	315		Súratu'l-Mu'minún xxiii	
24	...	93	14	...	185
46	...	20	21	...	25
53	...	312	102	...	321
60	...	307	104	...	316
62	...	310		Súratu'n-Núr xxiv	
63	...	315	1	...	17
73	...	315		Súratu'l-Furqán xxv	
81	...	323	5-6	...	21
83	...	138	16	...	326
92-5	...	262	34	...	81
107	...	307	60	...	250
	Súratu'l-Kahf xviii			Súratu'sh-Shu'ara' xxvi	
28	...	336	80-2	...	301
48	...	279	193	...	7
105	...	317	214-5	...	4
107	...	326	224	...	21
	Súratu Maryam xix				
31	...	308			
35	...	324			

464 LIST OF VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'ÁN

Súratu'n-Naml xxvii			Súratu's-Şad xxxviii		
Verse		Page	Verse		Page
34	...	96	36	...	287
70	...	19	70	...	20
Súratu'l-Qaşaş xxviii			Súratu'z-Zumar xxxix		
15-16	...	301	7	...	216
56	...	333	24	...	327
78	...	302	45	...	449
Súratu'r-Rúm xxx			46	...	218
17	...	371	68	...	312
48	...	347	72	...	78
Súratu'l-Ahzáb xxxiii			73	...	425
7-8	...	325	Súratu'l-Mu'min xl		
21	...	25	11	...	356
33	...	26	42	...	326
34	...	138	43	...	336
36	...	26, 303	57	...	302
49	...	106	111	...	263
51	...	82	186	...	334, 456
52	...	106	Súratu'l-Fuşşilat xli		
53	...	111	14	...	303
57	...	26	Súratu'sh-Shúrá xlii		
Súratu's-Sabá' xxxiv			3	...	279
3-4	...	313	9	...	255
22	...	218	Súratu'z-Zukhruf xliii		
Súratu Yá Sín xxxvi			59	...	295
11	...	329	61	...	325
58	...	425	77	...	286
66	...	318	80	...	280
69	...	121	Súratu'd-Dukhán xliv		
79	...	312	1-2	...	305, 427
82	...	266	5	...	257
94	...	357	Súratu Muḥammad xlvii		
Súratu's-Şaffát xxxvii			5	...	280
14	...	309	16	...	325
23	...	319	21	...	303
77	...	425	Súratu Qáf l		
94	...	333	16	...	280
109	...	425	20	...	281
120	...	425	32-5	...	321
130	...	425			

LIST OF VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'ÁN 465

Súratu't-Túr lii			Súratu't-Taḥrīm lxvi		
Verse		Page	Verse		Page
24-5	...	262	1-5	...	303
Súratu'n-Najm liii			78	...	2
1	...	69	Súratu'l-Mulk lxvii		
5	...	7	5	...	455
5-9	...	308	10-11	...	303
14	...	328	Súratu'l-Qalam lxviii		
15	...	326	12	...	203
32	...	336	Súratu'l-Iḥáqqa lxix		
33	...	300	17	...	281
44	...	334	25	...	215
Súratu'l-Qamar liv			30	...	316
19	...	327, 353	Súratu'l-Mu'árij lxx		
Suratu'r-Raḥmán lv			15-17	...	327
41	...	303, 317	19	...	90
Súratu'l-Wáq'á lvi			Súratu Nūḥ lxxi		
76	...	111	29	...	301
78	...	2	Súratu'l-Jinn lxxii		
Suratu'l-Ḥadíd lvi			19	...	286
14	...	90	Súratu'l-Muzzammil lxxiii		
22	...	333	2	...	371
Súratu'l-Mujádala lviii			20	...	107, 371
3	...	256	Súratu'l-Muddaththir lxxiv		
22	...	333	1	...	6
Súratu'l-Ḥaṣṣr lix			30	...	281
2	...	53	44	...	327
Súratu'ş-Şaff' lxi			Súratu'l-Qiyámat lxxv		
6	...	19	16-19	...	8
Súratu'l-Jamú'a lxii			16, 17, 18	...	82
9	...	375	18	...	8
Súratu'l-Manáfiqún lxiii			140	...	257, 313
20	...	10	Súratu'l-Insán lxxvi		
			15	...	84
			20-30	...	363

466 LIST OF VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'ÁN

Súratu'l-Mursalát lxxvii			Súratu'l-Inshiráh xciv		
Verse		Page	Verse		Page
1-6	...	101	1-2	...	305
Súratu'n-Názi'át lxxix			Súratu'l-'Alaq xcvi		
10-14	...	313	1	...	4
41-5	...	313			
Súratu'l-'Abasa lxxx			Súratu'l-Qadar xcvi		
11-12	...	266	1	...	3
			5	...	425
Súratu'l-Infi'tár lxxxii			Súratu'l-Baiyina xcvi		
10	...	280	5	...	321
13	...	326			
18, 19	...	218	Súratu'z-Zilzál xcix		
Súratu't-Ta'fíf lxxxiii			7	...	322
7-10	...	215	Súratu'l-Qári'a c		
18	...	326	5-8	...	316
Súratu'l-Inshiqáq lxxxiv			7	...	327
8-11	...	315	Súratu'l-Humaza civ		
Súratu'l-Burúj lxxxv			1	...	317
16	...	257	Súratu'l-Kanṭhar cviii		
22	...	82, 329	1	...	325
Súratu'sh-Shams xci			2	...	85
14	...	303	Súratu'l-Ikhlās cxii		
Súratu'd-Ḍuḥá xciii			1-4	...	168, 233
1-3	...	100	4	...	285
5	...	321			

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